



Civil society monitoring report  
on implementation  
of the national Roma integration strategy  
in Italy

*Identifying blind spots  
in Roma inclusion policy*

**Prepared by:**  
Casa della Carità  
Consorzio Nova  
Associazione Sinti Italiani Prato  
Associazione 21 Luglio  
Fondazione Romani  
February 2020



**EUROPEAN COMMISSION**

Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers  
Directorate D — Equality and Union Citizenship  
Unit D1 Non Discrimination and Roma Coordination

*European Commission  
B-1049 Brussels*

**Civil society monitoring report  
on implementation  
of the national Roma integration strategy  
in Italy**

*Identifying blind spots in Roma inclusion policy*

***EUROPE DIRECT is a service to help you find answers  
to your questions about the European Union***

Freephone number (\*):  
00 800 6 7 8 9 10 11

(\* ) The information given is free, as are most calls (though some operators, phone boxes or hotels may charge you)

#### **LEGAL NOTICE**

„The European Commission support for the production of this publication does not constitute endorsement of the contents which reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.”

More information on the European Union is available on the Internet (<http://www.europa.eu>).

Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2020

---

PDF ISBN 978-92-76-19892-5 doi:10.2838/01225 Catalogue number DS-02-20-438-EN-N

© European Union, 2020  
Reproduction is authorised provided the source is acknowledged.

The report was prepared by:

- Donatella De Vito, *Casa della Carità* (editor and author of the Introduction),
- Stefano Pasta, *Casa della Carità* (Chapter 1),
- Antonio Ciniero, *Consorzio Nova* (Chapter 2),
- Luca Bravi of *Associazione Sinti Italiani Prato* (Chapter 3),

with the contribution of Giovanni Agresti and Nazzareno Guarnieri of *Fondazione Romani*. *Associazione 21 Luglio* provided some contribution for the development of the analysis of the regional laws in Chapter 1.

The report was prepared as part of the Roma Civil Monitor pilot project, 'Capacity-building for Roma civil society and strengthening its involvement in the monitoring of National Roma Integration Strategies'. The pilot project is carried out for the European Commission, DG Justice and Consumers. It is coordinated by the *Center for Policy Studies* of the Central European University (CEU CPS), in partnership with the European Roma Grassroots Organisations Network (ERGO Network), the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC), the *Fundación Secretariado Gitano* (FSG) and the Roma Education Fund (REF) and implemented with around 90 NGOs and experts from up to 27 member states.

Although the Roma Civil Monitor pilot project, as part of which the report was prepared, is coordinated by CEU, the report represents the findings of the author and it does not necessarily reflect the views of CEU. CEU cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

# CONTENTS

<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</b> .....	5
<b>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY</b> .....	6
<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	8
<b>“THEORY OF NOMADISM” IN REGIONAL LAWS AND NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE VACUUM</b> .....	11
Definition of the problem .....	11
Background and cause of the problem .....	13
Policy answer to the problem.....	19
<b>LACK OF RELIABLE DATA ON RSC</b> .....	21
Definition of the problem .....	21
Background and cause of the problem .....	22
Policy answer to the problem.....	24
<b>NEED FOR COUNTER-NARRATIVES ON RSC COMMUNITIES</b> .....	26
Definition of the problem: .....	26
Background and cause of the problem .....	27
Policy answer to the problem.....	29
<b>CASE STUDY: COMMUNITIES AND MASS MEDIA. THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE SINTI OF PRATO IN THE COMMUNICATION</b> .....	31
<b>RECOMMENDATIONS</b> .....	34
<b>ANNEX 1: RSC INCLUSION INDICATORS</b> .....	37
<b>ANNEX 2: TERRITORIAL INTEGRATION POTENTIAL INDICATORS</b> .....	39
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	40

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANCI	National Association of Italian Municipalities
ASGI	Association for Legal Studies on Immigration
CoE	Council of Europe
ECRI	European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
ECSR	European Committee on Social Rights
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ERIAC	European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture
ERRC	European Roma Right Centre
ESF	European Social Fund
ESIF	European Structural and Investment Funds
FRA	EU Agency for Fundamental Rights
ISTAT	National Institute of Statistics
LP	Provincial Law ( <i>Legge Provinciale</i> )
LR	Regional Law ( <i>Legge Regionale</i> )
MEP	Member of European Parliament
MIUR	Ministry of University and Research
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRIS	National Roma, Sinti and Caminati Integration Strategy
OSCAD	Observatory for security against acts of discrimination
PON	National Operational Programme
RSC	Roma, Sinti and Caminanti
UNAR	National Office against racial discrimination
UNHCR	UN Refugee Agency
UPI	Union of Italian Provinces

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the first two Roma civil monitor reports,<sup>1</sup> we focused our attention on the structural and horizontal preconditions for the successful implementation of the national strategy and assessed the progress of the strategy in key policies areas; like housing, employment, health and education. The analysis underlined that, besides isolated cases, no real improvements can be seen on the ground of Roma inclusion. Despite isolated progress in some regions, many problems still persist and hinder the implementation of the NRIS; and it appears difficult to remove them without a radical change of direction in respect to what has been done so far. This report is aimed at identifying the blind spots that have had and have an impact on the implementation of the National strategy, and the gaps that should be bridged by more effective inclusion governmental policies and measures in order to develop more effective inclusion policies.

### “Theory of nomadism” in regional laws and national legislative vacuum

In the last 50 years, the lack of a national framework on Roma, Sinti and Caminanti (RSC) Communities has left a void that has been filled by regional and local authorities with various voluntary actions. In order to provide answers to the housing needs of Roma groups, regional authorities have promoted legislative texts that, on one hand constituted the only form of recognition of the Roma groups present on the territory, on the other, mainly aimed at regulating the institution of camps and “parking areas”, built in order to house them. These laws were based on a nomadic approach as they assumed that all RSC groups living in Italy were nomads. This has mistakenly made Roma and Sinti culture coincide with nomadism, laying the foundation of what was defined as “Campland.”<sup>2</sup> Formally, authorities claimed to protect the presumed “Roma nomadism” by institutionalising of camps. The approval of the NRIS in 2012 appeared to be a great opportunity to affirm the role of regional and local authorities within a national framework. As it was well explained in the NRIS itself, the National Strategy had to deal with the issue of adopting ad hoc national legislation, in order to promote and support the completion and the improvement of necessary territorial policies, while establishing specific criteria for the effective protection of the RSC communities as a national minority.<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, what was stated by the NRSI was not addressed. In this disorganised and heterogeneous scenario, everything is left to the discretion of local and regional authorities, that have still the power to decide whether and what to put into action, often producing contradictory results that keep perpetuating the development of discriminatory policies and practices. There are several regions that keep doing nothing, while a few others enacted simultaneously different and discordant laws. This is the case of the Region Piedmont, that has just proclaimed an anachronistic “protection of nomadism” regional act for legitimising the production of regulatory devices that are hostile to Roma and Sinti. On 8 November 2019, the Region has approved the “*Rules on the regulation of nomadism and the fight against abusiveness*”, L.R. 61/2019.<sup>4</sup> The bill seeks, in practice, to abolish permanent Roma camps, without providing adequate accommodation alternatives to the Roma and Sinti residents in the camps. The basic idea of the law is particularly serious and worrying: the theory of nomadism as the main feature of the RSC groups becomes the pretext to justify a discriminatory and segregating approach and system.

<sup>1</sup> See *Civil society monitoring reports on implementation of the national Roma integration strategies in Italy* 2018 and 2019 at: <https://cps.ceu.edu/roma-civil-monitor-reports>.

<sup>2</sup> ERRC, *Campland: Racial Segregation of Roma in Italy. Country Report Series, N. 9* (Budapest, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> UNAR, *National Strategy for the Inclusion of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Communities. European Commission Communication N. 173/2011* (Roma: UNAR, 2012), p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> <http://serviziweb.csi.it/solverweb/IndexDocumentServlet?id=57463>.

## Lack of reliable data on RSC

In Italy, there are no reliable data neither on the real number of Roma and Sinti present on the national territory, nor on their level of education, employment, housing condition, life expectancy and infant mortality, as well as the percentage of foreigners and stateless Roma and on their access possibilities to social, health and welfare services. This impacts negatively the possibility of developing effective public policies, and to make good use of the resources available. Without reliable statistical data, in fact, it is difficult to establish the objectives of the interventions to develop, as well as to determine the tools capable of pursuing them, and to make assessments on the impact of the public interventions implemented. This has an impact also on the social imaginary of RSC communities too, and affects negatively the public opinion and policies, as it will be further underlined in this report. The lack of data is highlighted in the National Strategy for the Integration of Roma in Italy as a crucial issue.

## Need for counter-narratives on RSC Communities

The lack of data and reliable information available on the Italian territory has a direct effect on the social representation of Roma Communities in Italy. Although this minority consists of groups that are heterogeneous in terms of origin, living conditions, and social status, little studies and research on their variety and complexity have been conducted. The lack of knowledge about the Roma minority is almost exclusively linked to the news, generally crime related news. Consequently, the public opinion is manipulated into associating this minority with crime, violence and degradation against all common sense, and even against any specific European institutional recommendation.<sup>5</sup> Both the press and the institutions persevere in designating this community as “nomad”, distorting its very representation and, consequently, jeopardising every action and attention.<sup>6</sup> As a consequence of that, Roma continues to be one of the main targets of ethnic hatred and Italy emerges as the nation with the highest percentage (86%) of diffusion of hostile speeches addressed to Roma<sup>7</sup>. The producers of racist content are diversified: traditional media have their importance in the matter, but blogs, Facebook groups and other social media have started to contribute to the spread of anti-Roma speeches<sup>8</sup> too. Antigypsyism is standardised, meaning that it has been widespread and becoming ever more pervasive and omnipresent.<sup>9</sup>

Funding counter-narrative programmes is a key element to promote short and long-term actions, as the lack of data, together with the spread of antigypsyism keep on influencing not only the social representation of Roma, but also the development of policies, hence impacts negatively the overall implementation of any strategy.

<sup>5</sup> European Commission against Racism and Intolerance. Third report on Italy, adopted on 16 December 2005, published in Strasbourg on 16 May 2006 (see § 95).

<sup>6</sup> Frequently we witness very dangerous forms of socio-cultural hyper-correctionism, according to which, for example, Roma children should not attend school and families should be welcomed in “nomad camps” just to accommodate alleged cultural and ethnic traits of the Roma population.

<sup>7</sup> Pew Research Centre. *Faith in European Project Reviving*. June 2015.

<sup>8</sup> Commissione Jo Cox, *Relazione finale*, p. 90.

<sup>9</sup> Stefano Pasta, “The media and the public perception of the Roma and the Sinti in Italy”, *Trauma and Memory*, vol. 7, 1/2019, 46-52.

## INTRODUCTION

In 2012, the Italian authorities committed to overcome RSC discriminatory segregation and sub-standard housing conditions with the approval of the National Roma, Sinti and Caminanti (RSC) Integration Strategy (NRIS), which was drafted by UNAR<sup>10</sup> in collaboration with several stakeholders, civil society organisation and Roma representatives. Through an integrated approach, founded on the involvement of all interested parties, four systemic actions were defined in order to support the planning and the implementation of actions within four sectoral axes of intervention: housing, employment, education and health. The Strategy has been evaluated positively by different key actors at national and European level, because it has marked an important break with the past, abandoning the concept of nomadism and adopting a broader approach in order to promote RSC inclusion. However, the 2020 deadline set for its impact evaluation will be achieved without having reached significant results on the matter. As underlined by the Jo Cox Report<sup>11</sup> presented at the Chamber of Deputies in 2017, the Strategy *“ends up being an ineffective tool, because of the inactivity of local Authorities, but also for the lack of an adequate central coordination system”*. Despite isolated progress in some regions, many problems still impede the NRIS implementation, and it appears difficult to remove them without a radical change of direction in respect to what has been done so far. The limited powers that UNAR has in order to ensure the implementation of the NRIS at local level, together with the poor capacity to coordinate actions among the different institutional levels, have negatively impacted on the development of Local Action Plans for Roma inclusion. As underlined in [the first RCM report on Italy](#),<sup>12</sup> at local level, everything is left to the discretion of the local authorities, that have powers to decide whether and how to put it into action. As a result of that, only 11 Regions out of 20 have set up the consultative meetings to discuss how to implement the NRIS at local level. Only two regions, Emilia Romagna and Tuscany, have promoted and approved a regional law and a regional act aimed at closing the Roma municipal camps, and to promote actions aimed at supporting RSC housing and social inclusion. There are indeed several regional and local authorities that not only do not implement the NRIS, but even deny it, keeping on maintaining – or even opening – new mono-ethnic residential areas and camps. Moreover, the delay in the implementation of the NRIS in two regions in which RSC presence and exclusion is higher, such as Lazio (22%) and Lombardy (11%), is particularly significant. In the meanwhile, the human rights of thousands of Roma continue to be violated, particularly in the area of housing, as segregated camps, discrimination in access to social housing and forced evictions remain a daily reality for Roma living in camps in Italy. It is in this context that our organisations have called on the European Commission to take decisive action to address these violations, constituting a breach of the Race Equality Directive, through the initiation of infringement proceedings against Italy. Lots of Roma families still live segregated in mono-ethnic camps set up by authorities across the country. Regional and municipal regulations enable Italian authorities to construct and manage Roma-only camps, which are often located in remote areas, far away from basic services, and sometimes unsuitable for human habitation. As underlined in [the previous](#)

<sup>10</sup> Office for the promotion of equal treatment and the removal of discrimination based on race and ethnic origin at the Department for Equal Opportunities of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

<sup>11</sup> The Italian Chamber of Deputies has named a cross-party committee set up to tackle intolerance and hate crime after the British MP Helen Joanne Cox, murdered in June 2016 as a result of a violent targeted hate crime attack by someone linked to far-rights extremism. Commissione Jo Cox, *Relazione finale*, p. 93.

<sup>12</sup> Casa della Carità, Consorzio Nova, Fondazione Romani, Associazione 21 Luglio, Arci Solidarietà Onlus, and Associazione Rom Sinti Prato, *Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the national Roma integration strategy in Italy. Focusing on structural and horizontal preconditions for successful implementation of the strategy* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018).

[\(second\) RCM report on Italy](#),<sup>13</sup> the living conditions in camps are often inadequate, failing to meet international human rights standards and even national regulations on housing. While the Strategy promised to “overcome camps”, very little action has been taken by the authorities to this end. The “National working group on housing”, established by the Strategy to address discrimination in access to housing, has never been organised, and no national plans have been planned or implemented to provide for the process of desegregation of camps that was foreseen in the Strategy. Housing segregation is worsened by the extreme difficulty that Roma face when they try to access adequate housing. In fact, many Roma have been effectively denied access to regular, unsegregated social housing, not only because of the lack of investments to increase the availability of affordable accommodation in line with the needs of the general population, but also due to the introduction by local authorities of criteria for access to social housing that directly or indirectly discriminate against Roma. Moreover, despite the Strategy acknowledged the “excessive use” of evictions of informal settlements, and how these were “substantially inadequate” to address the housing situation of Roma, Italy has continued to evict Roma from informal camps, without the necessary safeguards such as consultation and adequate notice, in violation of the country’s international and regional human rights obligations and in contrast to other forms of evictions carried out in Italy.

As reported in the second RCM report,<sup>14</sup> apart from two national initiatives, very few measures were undertaken for promoting the access to employment of RSC Communities, that keep on recording a higher unemployment and inactivity rate in comparison to the rest of the population. Despite the explicit reference of the Strategy to women and youths, very little has been done to fight their vulnerability in the access to the labour market, from which they keep on being highly excluded. The persistence of poor housing and economic condition among the RSC that live in camps or informal settlements, keep on influencing their access to health and education services. As shown by the report, despite some attempts have been done in the field to promote a better access of RSC communities to health services and education, the access to those services is still influenced by RSC housing condition. The RSC that live in informal settlements still have a high level of illiteracy and school drop-out, while the school attendance of many RSC minors living in regular camp is made difficult by the location of the settlements, which are very often far from city centres and services. The living conditions of the RSC residing in segregated camps is a factor that still influences the possibility of RSC communities to have access to employment, education and healthcare, and in the last years many Roma activists and organisations, as well as NGOs advocating for RSC and international organisations, have voiced their concerns over the discrimination that this housing exclusion situation causes.

In the meanwhile, stigmatisation and the use of rooted stereotypes in the public speech on Roma are on the rise, as a consequence of the increased radicalisation and extremism shown by Lega Nord, the former government. It is urgent to promote actions aimed at making public authorities to distance themselves from racist and xenophobic discourse that targets Roma and to effectively criminalise anti-Roma rhetoric, hate speech and hate crime. As underlined in [the first RCM report on Italy](#),<sup>15</sup> in the last few years, the polycentric proliferation of antigypsyism has increased, and the producers of racist content have spread and diversified: traditional media still have their importance in the matter, but local political actors, local news websites, self-produced “unofficial information” blogs, Facebook

<sup>13</sup> Casa della Carità, Consorzio Nova, Fondazione Romani, Associazione 21 Luglio, Arci Solidarietà Onlus, and Associazione Rom Sinti Prato, *Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the national Roma integration strategy in Italy. Assessing the progress in four key policy areas of the strategy* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2019).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>15</sup> Casa della Carità, Consorzio Nova, Fondazione Romani, Associazione 21 Luglio, Arci Solidarietà Onlus, and Associazione Rom Sinti Prato, *Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the national Roma integration strategy in Italy* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018).

groups and even private pages on social networks have started to contribute to the spread on anti-Roma speeches.

Beside the need of promoting a specific framework to tackle antigypsyism at institutional level, public actors and programmes specially created to defeat it, some further actions should be undertaken in order to make this goal possible, focus on: a) the adoption of an ad hoc national legislation, acknowledging RSC communities as a national minority, and defining the processes of coordination between regional and local authorities for the improvement of inclusion policies; b) developing data collection in order to collect reliable data on the real number of Roma and Sinti present on the national territory, on their level of education, employment, housing condition, life expectancy and infant mortality, as well as of the percentage of foreigners and stateless Roma and on their access possibilities to social, health and welfare services; c) implementing structured programmes of counter-narratives, counter speech and alternative speech on RSC Communities, would not only provide a relevant contribution in the fight against antigypsyism, but also in the development of the next Strategy of Roma Inclusion, as it will act against the widespread discrimination that still affects many local and regional authorities, influencing their choice to implement-or not to implement- policies for Roma inclusion.

While all these three actions have been highlighted in the National Strategy as key elements for its implementation, even if poor attention has been given to them at institutional level. It is our view that they will provide a relevant contribution in the fight against antigypsyism, but also in the development of the next Strategy of Roma Inclusion.

The methodology of the report relies on a qualitative approach which included: analysis of international, national and local documents, such as policy documents, research reports, articles and essays. Interviews with 15 Roma and Sinti activists, 24 national Roma and civil society NGOs were conducted in order to provide a wider and more inclusive perspective to the research findings.

# “THEORY OF NOMADISM” IN REGIONAL LAWS AND NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE VACUUM

## Definition of the problem

Except for the (negative) period of the State of Emergency (2008-2011),<sup>16</sup> the absence of a national legal framework for Roma and Sinti inclusion has left a void filled by local and regional authorities in a different way.

In the second half of the 1980s and early 1990s, many Italian regions passed regional laws which constituted the only form of acknowledgement of Roma groups. These laws mainly aimed at regulating the institution of camps for housing the Roma groups present in the local territories, based their institution on the assumption that these groups were nomads. This mistakenly made Roma and Sinti culture coincide with nomadism, laying the foundations for the segregation of the “Campland”.<sup>17</sup>

The second half of the 1990s and the early 2000s marked the absence of a national framework on Roma inclusion and poor regional activism, that was worsened by the lack of acknowledgment of the Roma minority in the law 482 passed by the Parliament in 1999. The period of the State of Emergency (2008-11) brings the national actors into the scene: these are years in which central and local authorities come together with an emergency approach for criminalising Roma and Sinti groups.

In 2012, the approval of the NRIS appeared to be a great opportunity to affirm the role of regional and local authorities within a national framework on Roma. As it was well explained in the NRIS itself: *“In view of a complete overcoming of all forms of discrimination, the present national Strategy shall certainly deal with the issue of adopting ad hoc national legislation, which not only acts as a “support” for the completion or the improvement of necessary territorial policies both locally and regionally, but establishes also specific criteria for the effective protection of the RSC communities, as a national minority. ”*<sup>18</sup>

In addition: *“The EU Framework starts from a simple consideration: to join forces, in order to address this situation. Mutatis mutandis, the Italian system has a unique opportunity to “join forces” and bring together all national, regional and local stakeholders, together with civil society and representatives of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti communities, so as to firmly respond to the EU ‘call’.”*<sup>19</sup>

In the last months of the 2012-2020 period of the NRIS, it is noted with regret that the “call” of the EU Framework was not addressed, and that the system framework requested by the NRIS was not implemented. On one hand, this was due to the absence of an effective central governance. On the other, this was linked to a national scenario that is marked by a strong heterogeneity and discordance, even between laws enacted simultaneously by regional authorities. At the moment, there are several regions that, despite the requests of the NRIS, keep doing nothing, and proceed basing their

<sup>16</sup> The end of the State of Emergency took place because of a petition of a Roma family settled in Rome together with the European Roma Rights Centre: with decision 6050 of 16 November 2011, the Italian Council of State declared the State of Emergency illegitimate. For further details see: <http://www.errc.org/press-releases/errc-and-sulejmanovic-v-presidency-of-the-council-of-ministers-and-others>.

<sup>17</sup> ERRC, *Campland: Racial Segregation of Roma in Italy. Country Report Series, N. 9* (Budapest, 2000).

<sup>18</sup> UNAR, *National Strategy for the Inclusion of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Communities. European Commission Communication N. 173/2011* (Roma: UNAR, 2012), p. 21.

<sup>19</sup> UNAR, *National Strategy for the Inclusion of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Communities. European Commission Communication N. 173/2011* (Roma: UNAR, 2012), p. 8.

interventions on laws that are out of date, as they were elaborated for intervening on situations which describe another reality compared to the current one.

There are; the Regions of Tuscany and Emilia Romagna that try to overcome the camps by assuming, at least in the approved texts, a range of offers, the Region of Calabria that acknowledges Roma minority by opting for cultural actions, Veneto that abolishes a law without replacing it. What is alarming is that, in this disorganised national scenario, there is the Region of Piedmont that proclaims an anachronistic "protection of nomadism" for legitimising the production of regulatory devices that are hostile to Roma and Sinti. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of November 2019 the Piedmont Region approved the bill of "*Rules on the regulation of nomadism and the fight against abusiveness*", L.R. 61/2019".<sup>20</sup> The bill was approved after being introduced by the far-right Lega Party, who control almost half of the seats in the council. Regional Security Councillor Fabrizio Ricca said: "*that it is a law to protect nomadism and have complete legality within the area*".<sup>21</sup> In practice, the bill seeks to abolish permanent Roma camps, without providing adequate inclusion paths, including accommodation alternatives. It dictates that Roma will be able to stay in formal camps for no more than three months, a measure that will instead force nomadism on an already vulnerable and often displaced population of Roma, many of whom are "nomadic" due to forced evictions. The basic idea of the law is particularly serious and worrying theories on nomadism as the (alleged) main feature of the RSC groups become the source to justify a discriminatory and segregating approach and system. In short, this law takes up - decades later - the wrong approach that the NRIS had asked to radically abandon.

Several associations have strongly criticised it. *Associazione 21 luglio*, *Associazione Studi Giuridici sull'Immigrazione* (ASGI), and the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) consider the measures included in the bill as discriminatory, and to further infringing upon the human rights of Roma living in Italy's so-called "nomad camps".<sup>22</sup> Roma activist Dijana Pavlovic called it "mortal damage",<sup>23</sup> the founder of *Associazione Italiana Zingari Oggi* (AIZO) Carla Osella of "institutional racism",<sup>24</sup> the *Kethanè* Movement launched an online petition to request the withdrawal of the measure.<sup>25</sup>

In fact, the bill is based on the incorrect assumption that Roma and Sinti living in Italy are mostly nomadic. For this reason, inclusion paths focused on education, work and housing are not included as recommended in the NRIS. Instead the bill proposes the creation of transit camps. *Associazione 21 luglio* explains that "*the bill, which is clearly discriminatory in nature, treats Roma communities a problem issue to control, sanction and monitor. In a passage of the introductory report it is written that minors "can be violated due to internal traditions of the nomad community that contrast with the regulatory framework of our country"* and in stressing respect for the principles of the Italian legal system it is clearly said that "*often they (are) not accepted by the nomads themselves*". The need to adopt a specific regulation arises, according to the introductory report, because "*the legislation in force has proved to be manifestly inadequate to resolve the problem of nomadism, indeed it has contributed to worsening the relationships of coexistence between the nomads and the resident population*". It says that municipalities must be provided with the tools necessary to regularise the presence of "nomads" and to combat abusive behaviour.

<sup>20</sup> <http://serviziweb.csi.it/solverweb/IndexDocumentServlet?id=57463>.

<sup>21</sup> [http://www.ansa.it/piemonte/notizie/2019/10/28/piemonte-verso-superamento-campi-nomadi\\_86991369-dc21-4dfd-bcba-da94151b210b.html](http://www.ansa.it/piemonte/notizie/2019/10/28/piemonte-verso-superamento-campi-nomadi_86991369-dc21-4dfd-bcba-da94151b210b.html).

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.errc.org/press-releases/new-law-against-roma-camps-in-italy-is-racist-and-illegal>.

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2019/10/29/campi-nomadi-la-rivoluzione-annunciata-dal-piemonte-e-solo-un-danno-mortale-allinclusione/5538348/>.

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.vocetempo.it/carla-osella-su-rom-e-sinti-ce-un-razzismo-istituzionale/>.

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.change.org/p/piemonte-aboliamo-la-legge-che-distrukge-la-vita>.

It can be deduced from the foregoing that nomadism (or the Roma people) is a problem, and that the Roma people are most certainly not a part of Italian society but, by the grace of the state, they are permitted to live within it. This racist notion underpins the rest of the bill approved by the Regional Council.

Below are some of the main critical points according to the associations:

- Protection of Nomadism (art. 1): faced with the alleged desire to "regulate and protect nomadism" there is in reality a desire to adopt an ad hoc law for individuals and groups of people identified on an ethnic basis, as Roma.
- Realisation of transit areas and video surveillance (art. 2): the creation of monitored video transit areas is in open violation of the rules concerning public order and security to the state.<sup>26</sup>
- Revocation of the authorisation (art. 4): the stipulated conditions, relating to source of income and moral suitability, which are necessary for people wishing to request a place in such camps are potentially discriminatory.<sup>27</sup>
- Procedure for revocation of the authorisation (art. 5): this procedure must comply with the general provisions on administrative procedures, in particular with regard to the right to participate in the procedure of the addressee of the provision, before it is adopted in the decision.
- Transitional provision (art. 9): which provides for "the monitoring of nomad population flows" is nothing more than the provision of a census based on ethnicity. Regarding the feared adoption of "measures" in situations of risk and social distress of Roma children, if such measures.

The case of Region of Piedmont law is emblematic of how deep-rooted antigypsyism, the inertia, the continuous postponement, together with the lack of a national framework on RSC inclusion cause a situation that the international and European institutions and associations have often defined unacceptable, and that should be addressed with specific EU Directives and Recommendations.

## Background and cause of the problem

In the last 50 years, the lack of a national legal framework on RSC Groups has left a void that has been filled by local authorities. Regional legislators, since 1984, have in several cases tried to regulate the most problematic aspects<sup>28</sup> of the presence of Roma and Sinti through texts that, on one hand, constituted the only form of recognition of the Roma groups in Italy but that, on the other, mainly aimed at regulating the institution of the camps and "parking areas" ("*campo sosta*") that were built in order to house them. These laws, drafted by regional authorities in the 1980s on the basis of a nomadic approach and assume that all RSC groups are nomads, have become an instrument of protection of a presumed nomadism in the midst of affirmation of segregation.<sup>29</sup> The first Region to intervene on the subject is Veneto (north-east of Italy), with the Regional Law n. 41 of 16

<sup>26</sup> It should be noted that the Authority for the Protection of Personal Data has established that „a public entity can perform video surveillance activities only for institutional functions which it actually owns based on the reference order. Otherwise, the treatment is not lawful.”

<sup>27</sup> Regarding the revocation of the authorisation to remain in those areas in cases where the individual offender is guilty of "incitement or exploitation of third parties", clearly such behaviour must necessarily be ascertained by the competent judicial offices and who must have the final judgment.

<sup>28</sup> See: Federico Furlan, "Rom e Sinti nelle legislazioni regionali", in *La condizione giuridica di Rom e Sinti in Italia*, Eds. Paolo Bonetti, Alessandro Simoni, and Tommaso Vitale, (Milano: Giuffrè, 2011), 703-737.

<sup>29</sup> See: Luca Bravi, Nando Sigona, *Educazione e rieducazione nei campi per nomadi. Una storia.* [http://www.romsintimemory.it/assets/files/storia\\_memoria/memoria-negata/ALLEGATO%2014%20SigonaBravi,%20ABSTRACT%20EN.pdf](http://www.romsintimemory.it/assets/files/storia_memoria/memoria-negata/ALLEGATO%2014%20SigonaBravi,%20ABSTRACT%20EN.pdf).

August 1984. In this text, entitled as "*Interventions to protect Roma culture*",<sup>30</sup> the regulation of parking areas for housing RSC people as well as the contributions payable to Municipalities for the construction and maintenance of the camps themselves (art. 3) are central. This law also establishes the provision of funding to municipalities and mountain communities for the education and professional training of young people.

These ad hoc regional laws that followed the so-called "protection of Roma and Sinti populations" are as follow:<sup>31</sup> Lazio ("*Rules for Roma*", 1985), Sardinia ("*Protection of the ethnic and nomadic culture*", 1988), Emilia Romagna ("*Rules for nomadic minorities in Emilia Romagna*", 1988), Friuli Venezia Giulia ("*Rules for the protection of Roma culture within the territory of the autonomous region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia*", 1988), Lombardy ("*Action for the protection of populations belonging to traditionally nomadic and semi-nomadic ethnic groups*", 1989), Veneto ("*Interventions to protect the culture of the Roma and Sinti*", 1989), Umbria ("*Measures to encourage the integration of nomads into society and to protect their identity and cultural heritage*", 1990), Piedmont ("*Interventions in favour of the Gypsy population*", 1993).

Other Regions have included provisions regarding the Roma communities in broader normative texts dedicated to immigration: an example is the Marche Regional Law n.3/1994 on the subject of "*Interventions in favour of emigrants, immigrants, refugees, stateless persons, of nomads and their families*", repealed by art. 17 of the L.R. 30 June 1997 n. 37 and art. 25 of the L.R. 2 March 1998, n. 2.

The decision-making process adopted by the Liguria Region, which had initially adopted an ad hoc law on the matter like the Regions mentioned above, was repealed and included the issue of "nomads" within the broader framework of the integrated system of social promotion of people in need.<sup>32</sup>

Although aimed at protecting Roma and Sinti, these laws were linked to the culture of the previous decades when the Roma and Sinti issues were considered as a "police matter."<sup>33</sup> As highlighted in a passage from the law of 1984: "*The stop off of these groups created and creates problems of a various nature, in theme of relationships with the local communities, as well as concerning public order. Being dealt with a posteriori or under repressive terms, these problems did not disappear, but they proposed again, even worsened; it is thus necessary to tackle them a priori, with a set of measures able to prevent them, and in any case attenuate their impact, making the concerned communities feel responsible*".<sup>34</sup>

The stopping of groups has created problems of various kinds in terms of relations with local communities as well as in terms of public order. Successfully? Successively addressed or not, these problems have not disappeared. On the contrary, they have always reappeared, and indeed aggravated. It is, therefore, necessary to face them by promoting

<sup>30</sup> Opera Nomadi is the historic association, born in Bolzano in 1963, which in Italy has promoted interventions in favour of Roma and Sinti.

<sup>31</sup> To learn more about the topic: Associazione 21 luglio, *Questione rom. Dal silenzio dello Stato alle risposte di Regioni e Province* (Roma: 2013).

<sup>32</sup> L.R. Liguria, 27 agosto 1992 n. 21, in materia di "Interventi a tutela delle popolazioni zingare e nomadi"; <http://leggi.regione.liguria.it/leggi/docs/19920021.htm>, abrogata ex art. 64 L.R. Liguria, 24 maggio 2006, n. 12, in materia di "Promozione del sistema integrato di servizi sociali e socio-sanitari"; <http://leggi.regione.liguria.it/leggi/docs/20060012.htm>.

<sup>33</sup> See: Luca Bravi, Nando Sigona, *Educazione e rieducazione nei campi per nomadi. Una storia*. [http://www.romsintimemory.it/assets/files/storia\\_memoria/memoria-negata/ALLEGATO%2014%20SigonaBravi,%20ABSTRACT%20EN.pdf](http://www.romsintimemory.it/assets/files/storia_memoria/memoria-negata/ALLEGATO%2014%20SigonaBravi,%20ABSTRACT%20EN.pdf).

<sup>34</sup> L.R. Veneto, 16 agosto 1984 n. 41, in materia di "Interventi a tutela della cultura rom"; <http://www.consiglioveneto.it/crvportal/leggi/1984/84lr0041.html#Heading2>.

a set of measures that are useful to avert them, and in any case to mitigate their scope, while involving and making the communities concerned responsible”.

The similarities between the regional regulations have prompted some commentators to speak of “photocopy laws” in that the topics dealt with in the legal texts vary minimally from region to region. What changes is the definition of objectives, interventions and resources to be allocated for their implementation. A common element in the regional laws is the recognition of nomadism as a cultural trait characterising Roma and Sinti and, as such, the protection of the right to nomadism and to stop in the territory of the region.<sup>35</sup> This provision highlights the significance of the norms for the creation of specially equipped halting and transit sites to be allocated to nomads. Introduced in late 1960s in some cities of Northern Italy (including Milan in 1967) and positively considered by the *Opera Nomadi*, the nomad camps seemed to respond to the purposes of Roma integration as they allowed the preservation of forms of semi-nomadism. It was also pointed out that it would have been easier for the municipal services to carry out educational and professional training activities, while ensuring hygiene, health levels and control of the population. However, the matters of regional competence (training, labour insertion, welfare, health, schooling of minors, crafts, promotion of culture and identity), although included in the texts and subject to certain provisions, were deemed to have a lower priority as compared to the issues relating to camping areas.

Numerous reports, including the “*Roma Civil Monitoring Report*”,<sup>36</sup> have highlighted the negative effects of a policy envisaging the creation of camps as the only housing option, as evidenced by the present social condition of the Roma groups. In 2011, the National Inclusion Strategy called for the camps to be overcome, but local authorities continued to spend public money on their creation and maintenance.<sup>37</sup> Here it is noteworthy to stress the cultural factors underlying the camp system, which trace back to the legal activism of the Italian Regions in the second half of the 1980s and early 1990s.

All of the laws above stem from the basic assumption that migration and nomadism are racially conditioned cultural choices.

As stated in the National Strategy: “*The old conception, which associated these communities with the sole connotation of ‘nomadism’, has been overcome: this term is outdated both linguistically and culturally, since it does not portray correctly the current situation.*”<sup>38</sup> According to the Ministry of the Interior, the families practicing nomadism in Italy represent 2-3% of the Roma, Sinti and Caminanti<sup>39</sup> population.

A sedentarisation process has been underway in Italy since the 1960s among the historical Roma and Sinti groups traditionally dedicated to itinerant activities. This associated with

<sup>35</sup> See: Federico Furlan, “Rom e Sinti nelle legislazioni regionali”, in *La condizione giuridica di Rom e Sinti in Italia*, Eds. Paolo Bonetti, Alessandro Simoni, and Tommaso Vitale, (Milano: Giuffrè, 2011), 703-737; Erik Longo, *Regione e diritti: la tutela dei diritti nelle leggi e negli Statuti regionali* (Macerata: Eum, 2007), 147-151; Letizia Mancini, “Il debole riconoscimento giuridico di una minoranza: il caso zingari”, *Diritto, immigrazione e cittadinanza*, 3, 2001, 65-72.

<sup>36</sup> See the report *Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the national Roma integration strategies in Italy* 2018 and 2019: <https://cps.ceu.edu/roma-civil-monitor-reports>.

<sup>37</sup> See: Stefano Pasta, “Housing and essential public services”, in Donatella De Vito, Antonio Ciniero, Stefano Pasta, Luca Bravi, “Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the national Roma integration strategy in Italy. Assessing the progress in four key policy areas of the strategy” (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2019), pp. 23-36: <https://cps.ceu.edu/sites/cps.ceu.edu/files/attachment/basicpage/3034/rcm-civil-society-monitoring-report-2-italy-2018-eprint-fin-2.pdf>.

<sup>38</sup> UNAR, *National Strategy for the Inclusion of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Communities*. European Commission Communication N. 173/2011 (Roma: UNAR, 2012), p. 8.

<sup>39</sup> Commissione Straordinaria per la tutela e la promozione dei Diritti Umani, *Rapporto conclusivo dell'indagine sulla condizione di rom, sinti e caminanti in Italia* (Roma: Senato della Repubblica, 2011), p. 46: <http://www.senato.it/documenti/repository/commissioni/dirittiumani16/RAPPORTO%20ROM%20.pdf>.

different factors such as the transport revolution, the transformation of economic activities, the tightening of the state system and bureaucratic machine and the progressive closure of the parking spaces.

When the Balkans wars caused large groups of Roma to migrate to Italy and the need for housing solutions became an emergency, the only response of the Italian authorities was to provide accommodation in nomad camps, even though such migrants were not to be considered as nomads but political asylum seekers and had lived in conventional houses in their relevant countries. The same policy (i.e. creation of nomad camps) was adopted by the public institutions in the 2000s to face a migratory wave of Romanian Roma, fleeing from the conditions of economic hardship in their country where they had lived on a sedentary basis.

The above can be viewed as an instrumental use by the political power of the cultural heritage, or presumed so, of the Roma and Sinti groups. Indeed, the "public discourse", i.e. the terminology used by the media and legitimated by experts, scientists or privileged witnesses, has become accepted as truth and is widely used by politicians. On the one hand, the public discourse sets the limits within which cultural diversity can be defined and, on the other, it identifies the "key words" that are more functional for the specific purposes.

As noted,<sup>40</sup> by Luca Bravi and Nando Sigona, a people's culture includes both constant as well as evolving features which may over time take on different forms. In this sense, no living culture can be confined on the basis of a law without being reduced to stereotypes. A culture, in all its complexity, would remain cemented within a set of isolated elements which cannot be contested and thus become a mere tradition ineluctably linked to a mythical and ahistorical past.

As compared to the above-mentioned regional activism, at the national level, a missed opportunity was the Law n. 482/1999, namely "*Rules on the protection of historical linguistic minorities*". Even today, the persistent lack of recognition of RSC as a national minority is to be considered as a legal shortcoming. The framework law adopted in 1999 was approved only after having reached a compromise that excluded the Roma and Sinti from the list of recognised minorities. The main formal reason for this amendment was the territorial approach taken the art. 6 of the Italian Constitution, took into account only the communities living in an identifiable area, and having their own linguistic individuality.<sup>41</sup>

In the following Legislatures, several law proposals for recognising the RSC population as a minority have been suggested in Parliament, but none has been successful. In 2012, the Roma and Sinti Insieme Federation, together with 43 Sinti and Roma associations, academics, political and trade union associations, proposed a popular legislative initiative (PLI) of "*For the protection and equal opportunities of the historical-linguistic minority of*

<sup>40</sup> See: Luca Bravi, Nando Sigona, *Educazione e rieducazione nei campi per nomadi. Una storia*. [http://www.romsintimemory.it/assets/files/storia\\_memoria/memoria-negata/ALLEGATO%2014%20SigonaBravi,%20ABSTRACT%20EN.pdf](http://www.romsintimemory.it/assets/files/storia_memoria/memoria-negata/ALLEGATO%2014%20SigonaBravi,%20ABSTRACT%20EN.pdf).

<sup>41</sup> See: Paolo Bonetti, "I nodi giuridici della condizione di Rom e Sinti in Italia", in *La condizione giuridica di Rom e Sinti in Italia*, Eds. Paolo Bonetti, Alessandro Simoni, and Tommaso Vitale, (Milano: Giuffrè, 2011), 15-124; for a comparative look in the different European countries, see: Francesco Palermo, „Rom e Sinti come minoranze. Profili di diritto pubblico italiano e comparato di diritto internazionale”, in *La condizione giuridica di Rom e Sinti in Italia*, 151-174.

*Roma and Sinti*,”<sup>42</sup> while *Fondazione Romani Italia* presented its proposal in collaboration with the University of Teramo, but neither of these attempts proved successful.<sup>43</sup>

On the contrary, a large part of the last State Report under the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, submitted in 2014, is devoted to the situation of RSC.

However, in the face of the lack of national recognition in terms of protection, the heterogeneity of regional provisions continued. Although from the second half of the 90s until today there has been little regulatory action and funding from the local authorities has diminished, regional lawmakers continue to include provisions concerning the Roma in the regional laws governing the territory following the constitutional reform of 2001. However, once again, such laws only refer to the discipline in the camps.<sup>44</sup> An exception is the new regional statute of Calabria, L.R. 25/2004, which in article 2, paragraph 2, letter p, places among the objectives of the Region “*the protection and enhancement of the ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities present in Calabria, with particular reference to the populations of Albanian, Greek, Occitan and Roma origin*”.<sup>45</sup>

With reference to regional laws specifically dedicated to Roma and Sinti, it is worth mentioning the Region of Tuscany law, L.R. 2/2000 “*Interventions for Roma and Sinti peoples*”<sup>46</sup> and the L.P. of the Autonomous Province of Trento 12/2009, “*Measures to encourage the integration of Sinti and Roma groups residing in the province of Trento*”.<sup>47</sup> Both laws mark some points of discontinuity with respect to the regional laws of the nineties, as far as terminology is involved. Indeed, the word “nomadism” in relation to Roma and Sinti is mentioned only once.

The **Law of the Region Toscana**<sup>48</sup> is articulated in two parts: the first is dedicated to “interventions for residence and transit” (articles 2-7) while the second recognises and promotes “activities for social integration” (articles 8-11). This law shows a different approach to the housing situation proposing a diversified range of solutions, such as: equipped areas (art.3, art.4 and art.7) and areas for short stays (art.6); housing renovation of public and private buildings (art.5); social housing (with specific reference to Law N. 40 of 6 March 1998); completion to standards and/or extraordinary maintenance

<sup>42</sup> Paolo Bonetti, Alessandro Simoni and Tommaso Vitale, “Norme per la tutela e le pari opportunità della minoranza dei Rom e dei Sinti”, in *La condizione giuridica di Rom e Sinti in Italia*, 1281-1362. See also the Civil Society position papers: “Anche tenendo conto di eventuali specifiche esigenze”. Osservazione e il dibattito sul riconoscimento del romanes e della minoranza rom e sinta”, Osservazione, 12 ottobre 2015 Available at: [http://www.osservazione.org/it/2\\_91/anche-tenendo-conto-di-eventuali-specifiche-esigenze.htm](http://www.osservazione.org/it/2_91/anche-tenendo-conto-di-eventuali-specifiche-esigenze.htm) “Riconoscimento, la risposta di Sucar Drom ad Osservazione”, U Velto. Available at: <http://sucardrom.blogspot.it/2015/12/riconoscimento-la-risposta-di-sucar.html>.

<sup>43</sup> Associazione Romani Italia, “Proposta di legge statale per il riconoscimento della lingua romani come minoranza linguistica storica”. Available at: <http://www.fondazioneromani.eu/proposte-di-legge/170-proposta-di-legge-statale-per-il-riconoscimento-della-lingua-romani>

<sup>44</sup> For example, article 9 paragraph 1 bis of the L.R. Lombardy n. 12/2005 (as modified by the R.L. n. 4/2008) provides that: “The construction or maintenance of resting or transit camps for nomads can only be provided in the areas identified for this purpose by the plan document pursuant to article 8, paragraph 2, letter e-ter. The camps must be equipped with all primary services, sized in relation to the expected accommodation capacity”.

<sup>45</sup> See: [http://old.regione.calabria.it/allegati/statuto\\_della\\_regione\\_calabria.pdf](http://old.regione.calabria.it/allegati/statuto_della_regione_calabria.pdf). For an analysis of the statutory provisions dealing with linguistic minorities: Monica Rosini, “La tutela delle minoranze linguistiche nella seconda stagione statutaria”, in *I principi negli statuti regionali*, Eds. Elisabetta Catelani, Enzo Chelli, (Bologna: il Mulino, 2008), 269 ss.

<sup>46</sup> <http://raccoltanormativa.consiglio.regione.toscana.it/articolo?urndoc=urn:nir:regione.toscana:legge:2000-01-12;2&pr=idx,0;artic,1;articparziale,0>.

<sup>47</sup> [http://www.consiglio.provincia.tn.it/banche\\_dati/codice\\_provinciale/clex\\_documento\\_camp.it.asp?pagetype=c&app=clex&at\\_id=20706&type=testo&blank=N&ZID=5082209](http://www.consiglio.provincia.tn.it/banche_dati/codice_provinciale/clex_documento_camp.it.asp?pagetype=c&app=clex&at_id=20706&type=testo&blank=N&ZID=5082209).

<sup>48</sup> This is the third regional law after the L.R. 17/1988 and the L.R. 73/1995.

of independent housing structures found or built by Roma and Sinti; creation of spaces for handicraft activities. It makes explicit reference to the duty of the municipalities to implement suitable initiatives to encourage the inclusion of Roma and Sinti in work orientation, professional training and employment aid activities, as well as the fulfilment of compulsory schooling (art. 8-11). However, the establishment of an Advisory Board is not envisaged.

The **Law of the Autonomous Province of Trento** also incorporates some guidelines of the Tuscan Law, in particular diversified housing solutions, such as transit camps for temporary parking (art.3), residential areas (art.4), renovation of public and private buildings (art. 5). The text also provides measures aimed at promoting school and work integration (with specific reference to traditional professions) in addition to social security (articles 7-9). In order to comply with the law requirements, the establishment of a Provincial Advisory Board is envisaged for the promotion of the integration of Sinti and Roma groups, who are to be involved in projects and advisory matters, which is not provided for by the Tuscan Law.

A peculiar feature of this law is the request to the families concerned to comply with specific commitments. It also clearly indicates prerequisites to obtaining residential areas.<sup>49</sup> By way of example, residential community areas (art. 4) with a limited space (from 500 to 2,000 square meters) will firstly be assigned to families who have resided in the Trento Province for at least ten years. Other requirements to be fulfilled are the signing of a "community agreement", the obligation to participate in management costs and in school, educational and professional integration projects. Failure to comply with these commitments will affect the entire group, until possible revocation.

Finally, it should be remembered that in the Italian history of policies aimed at Roma and Sinti, the period from 2008 to 2011 is the one in which it also legislates at national level.

The main feature of abovementioned laws, however, was not the protection but rather the criminalisation of the Roma communities. On 21 May 2008, the Italian Government issued a Decree on the **Nomad Emergency** to be enacted in the regions of Lazio, Campania and Lombardy (later extended to Piedmont and Veneto in May 2009). This emergency legislation included extraordinary measures, such as collecting fingerprints (even of minors) and a census of all the people living in nomad camps. The decree was renewed in 2010 and 2011. Although the term "nomadism" was used to formally avoid ethnic profiling, this juridical measure envisages emergency intervention by public authorities and is similar to the decrees issued in the same period dealing with the earthquake in the Abruzzo region and the waste emergency in Campania. At the local level, the implementation of the state of emergency was marked by hyper-visibility in the media, growth in social tension concerning the settlements, political manipulation by right-wing parties, great availability of funds for local administrations to cope with the problem, and interventions targeting mainly large cities. As already mentioned, the main feature was the ongoing social criminalisation of the populations targeted by the interventions, often through the demagogic use of more securitarian instruments of governance.<sup>50</sup>

The State of Emergency was terminated following a petition filed by a Roma family settled in Rome, together with the European Rome Rights Centre. With the decision 6050 of 16 November 2011, the Italian Council of State declared the State of Emergency illegitimate.

<sup>49</sup> At least two components must perform an employee or self-employed job and half of the components must sign a declaration of immediate availability to the training and job offers proposed by the Employment Agency.

<sup>50</sup> Ulderico Daniele, Stefano Pasta, and Greta Persico, "From Public Enemy to Urban Ghost. Roma Migrants and the Dismantling of the Nomad Camp Systems in Milan and Rome", *Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 4-3 (2018): 106-135. See also: <http://sfi.usc.edu/education/roma-sinti/en/questioni-aperte/identita-e-cittadinanza/una-minoranza-italiana.php>.

It is in this critical framework that the Italian Authorities committed to overcome Roma's discriminatory segregation and sub-standard housing conditions with the approval of the National Roma, Sinti and Caminanti (RSC) Integration Strategy (NRIS) in 2012.<sup>51</sup>

### Policy answer to the problem

In 2012, the NRIS (National Roma Integration Strategy) represented a great opportunity to reinsert regional provisions into a national and unified system framework in compliance with local measures. It has already been discussed (in *Roma Civil Monitor 1 and 2*)<sup>52</sup> how the application of the Strategy has been strongly disregarded. Central governance proved to be a weak point, creating a heterogeneous and discordant policy framework between the various regions. As a result, only 11 Regions out of 20 have set up consultative meetings to agree on the modalities of implementation of the National Strategy at the local level. Regions with a high presence of Roma, such as Lombardy, have not even started this process after 8 years. According to *Associazione Romani*, "at the basis of a substantial and lasting improvement in the living conditions of the Roma community, there must necessarily be a work of reappropriation and recovery of historical memory, language and culture, against any possible alienation and social deviance".

In the report, accompanying the promulgation of the Law, the corpus of previous regional laws is criticised, indicating how this text is discontinuous. In particular, the equivalence (implicit or explicit) between "Roma culture" and "nomadism" is problematised; in fact, this equivalence has led to the reduction of the protection of Roma culture in these legislative texts to the protection of the right to park, only in the alternative by encouraging traditional craft activities. On the contrary, the accent of the defence of the Roma culture is placed in reference to the Roma language. Culture is therefore understood not as a "nomadic community" but as a "minority linguistic community". The *Associazione Romani* maintains that "cultural policies today should encourage the study and transmission of the language to future generations, so that the community's narrative heritage and memory may help overcome the loss of identity which is associated with loss of self-esteem and deviant behaviour".

Furthermore, the study of Romanès (to be understood as a unitary linguistic system even if articulated in different variants), its lexicon as well as its structure, may be an invaluable help to grasping non-secondary elements of the Roma's history, mentality, and "vision of the world".<sup>53</sup>

Specifically, the law recognises the Memory of *Porrajmos* (August 2) and the International Day of the Roma population, April 8 (art. 2); creates (articles 3-6) a Territorial Observatory with the participation of the Roma communities (OTP)<sup>54</sup> and appoints (articles 5-6) a Regional Guarantor for the rights of the Roma communities, whose activities are directly connected to those of the OTP.

According to the Calabrian Roma activist Luigi Bevilacqua (*Lav Romanò* association), "this regional law represents an opportunity that, depending on how it will be applied in the coming months and years, will either become a failure or a success. The recognition of the linguistic minority is positive especially its representation within the Observatory".

<sup>51</sup> UNAR, *National Strategy for the Inclusion of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Communities*. European Commission Communication N. 173/2011 (Roma: UNAR, 2012), p. 8.

<sup>52</sup> See the report *Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the national Roma integration strategies in Italy 2018 and 2019*: <https://cps.ceu.edu/roma-civil-monitor-reports>.

<sup>53</sup> Position paper of the Associazione Romani Italia: [http://www.fondazioneromani.eu/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=334](http://www.fondazioneromani.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=334).

<sup>54</sup> In criticising the previous forms of consultation envisaged by regional laws, it is noted that the tendency was to exclude members of the scientific-academic community. There is also a lack of independence of this body.

Shortly, through a call for tender, four from the Roma community and five from the academia will be appointed as the members of the Observatory. During his work at the Regional Council in 2017-2019, Bevilacqua in collaboration with the Romani Foundation, Idea Roma Onlus and Eugema Onlus carried out his work across the political forces and away from the media hype that brought all the approval of the law. He concludes that *"recognition is a fundamental symbolic step, now the challenge - starting from the Observatory - is to improve concretely the living conditions of the Roma community"*.

## LACK OF RELIABLE DATA ON RSC

### Definition of the problem

Italy neither does not collect, nor has official/institutional ethnically disaggregated data regarding the participation, the social characteristics and living conditions of the Roma and Sinti population. In Italy, there are in fact neither no reliable data on the real number of Roma and Sinti present on the national territory, nor on their level of education, employment, housing condition, life expectancy and infant mortality. Even the percentage of foreigners and stateless Roma, and their access possibilities to social and healthcare services is unknown.<sup>55</sup>

The absence of precise information on RSC Communities makes it difficult to define precisely and scientifically the problems related to the housing and social conditions of the Roma and Sinti population, and affects negatively the possibility of developing effective public policies, and to make good use of the resources available. Without reliable statistical data, in fact, it is difficult to establish the objectives of the interventions to develop, as well as to determine the tools capable of pursuing them, and to make assessments on the impact of the public interventions implemented. This has an impact also on the social imaginary on RSC, and affects negatively the public opinion and policies, as underlined in the previous chapter of this report.

The lack of data is not specific to Italy, but it is indeed a prevalent practice in good number of European countries.<sup>56</sup>

For what concerns Italy, the majority of the information available on the living conditions and socio-demographic characteristics of the Roma and Sinti present on the national territory derives from scientific surveys conducted by universities, research bodies or NGOs, or from information held by local authorities and third sector organisations that carry out projects that target Roma and Sinti. Even if these researches very often are detailed,<sup>57</sup> the data collected are unable to provide an exhaustive information framework

<sup>55</sup> To date, the only survey that presents data on the level of education, employment, housing condition of Roma and Sinti present on the national territory is EU-Inclusive National Report on labour and social inclusion of Roma people in Italy edited in 2011 by *Casa della Carità*. The few other surveys available that collect and analyse data on a national scale are: Beyond social-housing separatism. Study aimed at promoting the governance of policies and instruments for social inclusion and the fight against discrimination against Roma, Sinti and Caminanti communities (<http://www.irefricerche.it/File/File/REPORT/Oltre%20il%20separatismo%20socio-abitativo%20SINTESI%20new%20logos.pdf>); Cittalia/Anci, The Roma, Sinti and Caminanti settlements in Italy ([https://www.cittalia.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Gli\\_insedimenti\\_Rom\\_Sinti\\_e\\_Caminanti\\_in\\_Italia\\_.pdf](https://www.cittalia.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Gli_insedimenti_Rom_Sinti_e_Caminanti_in_Italia_.pdf)); Association 21 Luglio, Annual Report 2018 (<https://www.21luglio.org/2018/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/rapporto-annuale-2018.pdf>).

<sup>56</sup> The EU countries that do not officially identify the Rom population are: Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Holland, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom. The EU countries that officially identify Rom population on self-definition are: Austria, Bulgaria, Cipro, Croatia, Estonia, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Romania, Slovenia, Hungary.

<sup>57</sup> On the basis of the various researches carried out over the years and of the data held by local authorities and associations, it is possible, for example, to have information on the camps in which the Roma and Sinti live, what are their hygienic conditions and health, as well as problems related to the access to job opportunities, and the school attendance of minors. In order to improve the statistical knowledge of Roma and Sinti populations, the National office against racial discrimination, the National institute of statistics and the National association of Italian municipalities conducted a detailed survey of existing data sources in four municipalities: Naples, Bari, Catania and Lamezia Terme. For each source identified, the following information have been detected: - reference population, whether was a specific ethnic group or a particular population subgroup (e.g. schoolchildren, students, employees or users of social services); - criterion of RSC population identification, distinguishing between self-identification and hetero-identification, also specifying subjects and proxy variables (e.g. language, religion, country of origin and similar) allowing the identification; - observation

on the social and living conditions of Roma in Italy, as the data collected are very often related to specific territories, that rarely exceed the regional level, and are collected with different methodologies that do not allow comparison.

## Background and cause of the problem

One of the main problems related to data collection on the Roma and Sinti population concerns the definition of Roma and Sinti population itself. The question of the categorical definition of who may or may not be considered as Roma, present in the current debate, does not seem to have found a solution, neither on the scientific nor on the political and legislative level.

On the epistemological level, Roma and Sinti are categorical concepts, that are at the same time political, social and scientific, and that their meanings are nuanced in relation to the contexts and ways in which they are used. Like all categories, it is essentially used to distinguish some subjects from others, but, as Leonardo Piasere<sup>58</sup> recalled already in 1995, in terms of scientific studies, it has a very particular structure and even if it lacks the traits necessary and sufficient to be defined as a monothetic category, it has long been treated as such, triggering many contradictions.<sup>59</sup>

It does not seem that there exist a “comprehensive and exclusive” criteria or approach to determine who is Roma and who is not. There are countries where the Roma are recognised as a minority and where they are not so. Additionally, not all those who define themselves or are defined as Roma speak the same language or share a common religion. Moreover, Roma groups have different geographic origins, as well as socio-economic conditions. The participation levels in the political life of the countries in which they live also change significantly, both in terms of active and passive participation. The complexity in the definition of Roma and Sinti has led many countries that are able to produce official data on Roma to avail of the self-definition of the interested parties.<sup>60</sup>

It must be underlined that the opportunity to collect data on an ethnic basis is particularly controversial, and there is no unanimous agreement on the issue among scholars.<sup>61</sup>

However, several international bodies have highlighted the need to collect this type of data in order to plan anti-discrimination policies.

or reference units (e.g. individuals or population; groups/aggregations); - content of data, with particular reference to the main axes of the strategy (housing, employment, health and education); - data collection frequency; - reference period of the last available data; - nature of data (coming from public or private source); - level of access to data; - data transmission to other authorities or institutions. For more details see: [https://www.istat.it/it/files//2017/02/Fonti\\_di\\_dati\\_sulla\\_popolazione\\_RSC.pdf](https://www.istat.it/it/files//2017/02/Fonti_di_dati_sulla_popolazione_RSC.pdf)

<sup>58</sup> Piasere L. (1995), *Introduction to Piasere L. (c. Of), Wandering communities, Gypsy communities*, Liguori, Naples, pp. 3-38.

<sup>59</sup> Most of the scholars agree in identifying some elements capable of doing this: speaking *Romanes* as a common language (more or less changed over time and according to the different groups), and nomadism. On the basis of these elements, not always ascribable to all Roma groups, the foundations have been laid for the codification of a *knowledge* on Roma which, from the level of scientific research, has been translated on the level of political action. The establishment in Italy of parking camps as the main housing model reserved for Roma minorities derives precisely from indistinctly considering *nomadic* subjects belonging to groups with extremely heterogeneous characteristics.

<sup>60</sup> The problem of identifying “comprehensive and exclusive” criteria and approaches does not only concern the Roma case. The concept of ethnic origin is a composite concept. Composite means that, as a rule, ethnic origin is comprised of different characteristics such as language, religion, traditions, cultural heritage or descent. Such characteristics, as anthropological studies have pointed out, are not static, but change over time.

<sup>61</sup> Some scholars of contemporary racism argue that ethnic data collection can contribute to essentialises ethnic groups or contributes, albeit indirectly, to racial discrimination. See: Gallissot R., Kilani M., Annamaria R. (2000), *L'imbroglione ethnique en quatorze mots-clés*, Payot-Lausanne, Paris.

ECRI was the first regional body that advocated for the collection of ethnic data in a coherent and comprehensive manner in order to assess the effectiveness of policies targeting ethnic minority groups.<sup>62</sup>

The European Committee of Social Rights has identified a duty on national authorities to collect equality data in order to inform policies. The Committee said that 'where it is known that a certain category of persons is, or might be, discriminated against, it is the national authorities' duty to collect data to assess the extent of the problem.<sup>63</sup> The gathering and analysis of ethnic data (with due safeguards for privacy and against other abuses) is indispensable to the formulation of rational policy.<sup>64</sup>

The UN Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights went even further and opined that the European Commission should start an infringement procedure if a Member State continues to misinterpret the EU Data Protection provisions as not permitting data collection on the basis of racial or ethnic origin.<sup>65</sup>

From a legislative perspective, at European level, the European Union does not prohibit the collection of data on an ethnical basis, if data-protection safeguards are put in place. No Member State imposes an absolute prohibition of ethnic data collection provided that the data collection of ethnic data is carried out in accordance with the Data Protection Directive (Directive 95/46/EC [1995] OJ L281/31.). Article 8 (1) prohibits the processing of personal data in relation to certain special categories, including data concerning ethnic origin. This is, however, subject to exceptions if data-protection safeguards are put in place.

Data on ethnic origin can be gathered if:

1. it is for all minorities, according to the principle of self-definition of individuals that can be made exclusively on a voluntary basis;
2. the privacy of individuals is respected;
3. it is used only at an aggregated level, and with the aim of combating inequalities and to support positive actions to combat discriminations on the ground of ethnic origin.

In Italy, therefore, if these preconditions were met, there would be no impediment in principle to the data collection on a specific minority, including the Roma and Sinti.<sup>66</sup> At the moment, though, the only possibility to collect disaggregated data regarding a minority (including Roma and Sinti) is the General Census of Population and Housing, that is carried out by Istat, the National Statistical Institute but, currently, the census does not provide for the survey of the ethnic origin variable.

Having aggregated data on the basis of ethnicity would allow to gain information on RSC and on the total population, and this figure could facilitate the development of a set of indicators to measure the degree of social inclusion and participation of the RSC minority,

<sup>62</sup> See e.g. ECRI General Policy Recommendation No 4 on national surveys on the experience and perception of discrimination and racism from the point of view of potential victims, adopted on 6 March 1998.

<sup>63</sup> See *European Roma Rights Centre v. Greece*, Complaint No. 15/2003, decision on the merits of 8 December 2004, §27.

<sup>64</sup> See *European Roma Rights Centre v. Italy*, Complaint No. 27/2004, decision on the merits of 7 December 2005, §23

<sup>65</sup> United Nations, End-of-mission statement on Romania, by Professor Philip Alston, United Nations Human Rights Council Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=16737&LangID=E#sthash.42v5AeFT.dpuf>

<sup>66</sup> It should be remembered that in Italy Roma and Sinti are not officially recognised as a minority by law n. 482 of 1999 which, based on the linguistic criterion and the historical presence, defines and protects only some of the minorities present in the territory.

as well as to monitor the effectiveness of the policies and interventions implemented to encourage their integration processes.<sup>67</sup>

It must be underlined though that there are limits also in the use of this kind of data. The experiences of those countries that collect data on an ethnical basis show that there are limits also in this type of collection, as it tends to underestimate, even significantly, the numeric data concerning Roma presence. This situation is largely due to the widespread prejudices on RSC, that make many Roma reluctant to reveal their ethnicity.<sup>68</sup> According to the *No data – No progress* report,<sup>69</sup> in the countries in which the attendance of Roma and Sinti is relevant, the official data tend to underestimate their presence in a range between 45% and 99%, if compared to the data collected by non-governmental organisations and non-profit organisation. Such a gap exposes data to a high risk of calibrating political choices on official, but misleading data.

## Policy answer to the problem

The absence of data and information concerning the presence and the living conditions of Roma and Sinti is highlighted in the National Strategy for the Integration of Roma in Italy as a crucial issue. In order to fill the information gap, the RSC National Statistical Working group was established in June 2017, under the coordination of the Italian Institute of Statistics (Istat). In the working group participate the central administrations concerned (Ministries), ANCI (National Association of Italian Municipalities) and an RSC representative.

Currently, Istat, after conducting a pilot survey in four Italian municipalities on the available data sources on the RSC population,<sup>70</sup> launched an investigation on the Roma and Sinti that are involved in housing transition processes aimed at overcoming the camps. The survey is aimed at analysing the extent to which the housing transition process affects their social inclusion, and involves all Italian towns with a population of 15,000 inhabitants who have carried out or promoted projects and interventions of housing transition that target Roma and Sinti in between 2012 and 2019.

One more hypothesis to collect data on the social conditions of the Roma and Sinti population in Italy could be to concentrate the collection of information only on the portion of the Roma and Sinti population who lives in the camps, realising an ad hoc survey. In this way, the information related to the Roma Universe present in Italy will be lost, but it will be finally possible to have reliable data on the portion of Roma population that suffers most as a result offer the housing exclusion.

An alternative way to collect data on an ethnical basis could be to change the focus of the survey *from the "Roma" to the "Territories"*, in which inclusion and participation initiatives are promoted. This type of survey could provide information about how different territories (regions and/or municipalities) are equipped to facilitate the processes of social inclusion and participation of Roma and Sinti. The information on the processes of participation and inclusion could be collected on the basis of the indicators developed by the National

<sup>67</sup> A list of indicators is attached that can be constructed in the presence of data that detect ethnicity (Annex 1).

<sup>68</sup> For example, in Albania official sources say that there are about 1,300 Roma, however other sources estimate that there are up to 120,000 Roma. In Montenegro Official sources say that there are about 2,826 Roma, however other sources estimate the number to be between 20,000 and 27,000. In Romania Official sources say that there are 620,000 Roma, however other sources the number of Roma in Romania is between 1.5-2.5 million persons. Similar situations occur in: Bosnia and Herzegovina; Bulgaria; Croatia; Czech Republic; Hungary; Macedonia; Serbia; Slovakia.

<sup>69</sup> The report is available at the following link:  
<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/uploads/165c9e47-6056-4abf-97fb-4fa2d67f695c/no-data-no-progress-20100628.pdf>

<sup>70</sup> [https://www.istat.it/it/files//2017/02/Fonti\\_di\\_dati\\_sulla\\_popolazione\\_RSC.pdf](https://www.istat.it/it/files//2017/02/Fonti_di_dati_sulla_popolazione_RSC.pdf)

Strategy, in relation to the four areas: education, employment, housing and health.<sup>71</sup> The information collected according to this methodology could provide data on the *inclusion potential* of the different territories, spotting a set of objective factors capable of influencing, in positive or negative terms, the development of the processes of inclusion and participation of the Roma and Sinti within each territorial context.<sup>72</sup>

On the basis of the information collected, it could be possible to draw “territorial maps”, tools that could be used to measure the *inclusion potential* expressed by the territories, while providing information relating to the different degree of implementation of the National Strategy on the whole national territory. It must be underlined, in fact, that one of the problems related to the implementation of the National Strategy is its limitation to some small national areas.<sup>73</sup>

It should be also noted that the current Italian Strategy for RSC inclusion does not include any indicator for the assessment, nor any reference to the methodology of monitoring. This is a serious gap for two principle reasons: first, because this does not allow ongoing monitoring of the planned actions, on the basis of which, if necessary, it could be possible to recalibrate the interventions. Secondly, because after seven years since its launch of the Strategy, Italy has no reliable information about the real degree of its implementation.

<sup>71</sup> Attached in the annex, a set of possible indicators built since the objectives of the National Strategy for the Integration of RSC Italy (Annex 2).

<sup>72</sup> In Italy a similar methodology has already been used by the National Council for Economy and Labour in cooperation with the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy for the elaboration of annual reports relating to the *Integration Index of immigrants in Italy*.

<sup>73</sup> See chapter *Governance and Overall Policy Framework in Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the national Rome integration strategy in Italy*, <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/08397637-b1ae-11e9-9d01-01aa75ed71a1/language-en/PDF-format>

## NEED FOR COUNTER-NARRATIVES ON RSC COMMUNITIES

### Definition of the problem:

According to Nazzareno Guarnieri, Roma activist president of *Associazione Romani* and UCRI: *“Although Roma Communities have been historically residing in different areas of our country, live in houses, work regularly and contribute actively to the local context in which they live, they are still commonly identified as nomads, foreigners, residents of the camps, beggars, or are defined through other stereotypes that do not correspond to the whole Roma reality. Many Roma and Sinti families have long settled in different local contexts, and have become an integral part of the local social and cultural landscape. The history of several small and large centres of our country is in fact also a history of deep and intense relations between the local societies and the Roma communities, that arrived in different historical periods, between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries. Through this ‘long history’ of interaction, stratified relationships with local societies have been structured, that have influenced the economic and cultural development of many areas of our country. These RSC groups belongs to communities of a historical linguistic minority, still heterogeneous in linguistic terms, with common cultural values and the specificity of a single community, which is constantly forced to suffer the denial of fundamental rights, and gets in the focus of the public attention only on the occasion of political exploitation, that promotes racist attitudes based on prejudices that have been historically associated with the Roma minority”.* This is why *Associazione Romani*, together with many other Roma NGOs such as UCRI and *Movimento Kethane* underline the urgent need of launching a public debate for highlighting new narratives on the Roma minority. Narratives capable of representing the whole Romani reality, and not just the reality of the most marginalised ones, like the ones that live in regular or informal camps. Two relevant Roma NGOs in Italy (*Fondazione Romani* and UCRI) affirm that *“it is important to make visible the valued stories of Roma people who do not need social assistance, but who have positively contributed to society. It is urgent to break this circle and promote and spread information and stories capable of refuting those social and cultural beliefs that feed into prejudice, discrimination, and antigypsyism”.*

According to Giovanni Agresti of the *Fondazione Romani*, the negative social representations of the Roma minority work by following a regime of negative circularity: the strong prejudice does not allow public to get to know - and therefore possibly to appreciate, recognise and integrate - the RSC Communities, while the lack of knowledge of RSC contributes to the widespread prejudice. Even though we know very little today about a minority that is extremely multi-faceted and live in very different conditions, we can certainly highlight two common features that could pool together the different Roma groups present on the Italian territory that they are “invisible” and “hyper-visible” at the same time.

a) *Invisible*, because it is an “outlawed” linguistic minority, not legally recognised by the State which has a constitutional Charter that has among its fundamental principles (art. 6) the “*protection of linguistic minorities*”, and that has, for this reason, been repeatedly urged in this sense by national bodies (academies, associations, institutions), and major continental institutions;<sup>74</sup> *invisible*, because, as mentioned, this minority is fragmented into groups that are very heterogeneous

<sup>74</sup> We refer in particular to the Council of Europe and to the various official reports (four to date) on Italy’s application of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, a treaty adopted in Strasbourg in 1995 and entered into force in 1998. In these reports, and in particular in the most recent one, particular emphasis was given by the COE commission of experts to the non-recognition of the Roma as a linguistic minority by the Italian government and to the increasing discrimination against them. The fifth report was sent by the Italian government on 8 April 2019 and is awaiting evaluation by the experts of the Council of Europe. To follow the document shuttle, see: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/minorities/italy>

in terms of origin, living conditions, social status; *invisible*, because there are little studies and researches on their variety and complexity.

b) *Hypervisible*, because what is known about the Roma minority is almost exclusively linked to the news stories, generally coming from crime news, and consequently public opinion can only associate this minority with crime, violence and degradation;<sup>75</sup> *hypervisible*, because, against all common sense, and even against any specific European institutional recommendation<sup>76</sup>, both the press and the institutions persevere in designating this community as "nomad", distorting its very representation and, consequently, jeopardising every action and attention, albeit benevolent towards it.<sup>77</sup>

## Background and cause of the problem

The most recent data, processed in 2015 by the Pew Research Centre in relation to the spread of hate speech in Europe, describe the Roma as the preferred target of ethnic hatred, and revealed that Italy has the highest percentage (86%) of diffusion of hostile speeches addressed to Roma communities, although these groups represent only 0.2% of the Italian population.<sup>78</sup>

Why is there so much hostility and contempt towards the Roma and Sinti in Italy? According to widely distributed statistics, they do not represent any emergency or threat to public safety.<sup>79</sup> So why when we talk or write about Roma and Sinti we always give a reflection on crime? In a nutshell, it's possible to refer to three major hypothetical problems at the origin of antigypsyism in Italy in the contemporary era:

1. A strong opacity of the Roma minority, not recognised as such, deprived great extent of its language and, in fact, also of the historical memory of their own past and of the world. Marginalised, often ghettoised, cut out in short by the social dialectic because it is generally the object and not subject of public policies and because it is scarcely able to manifest a qualified and compact elite at all times.
2. A widespread inability of institutions (at local, regional and national level) which fail or are unwilling to read, recognise and understand the Roma minority for what it really is, hence systematically commit evaluation errors and remain too often victim of a political fight, consequently endorse prejudice instead of opposing it.
3. The lack of elaboration of a rhetoric and legal arsenal fighting antigypsyism, a specific form of racism that has seen in recent years an upsurge accompanied by episodes of tension and violence. At the heart of the construction of hatred is demonization through both the conventional media and the social media.

Between 1990 and 2015, Ansa, one of the main Italian press agencies, dedicated 110 thousand releases about Roma and Sinti. The research on the media representation of the

<sup>75</sup> In a recent research, we have shown that in about a century and a half of daily editions of the *Corriere della Sera*, the most important national newspaper, the word „gypsies“ is never associated with the language; moreover, more than half of the quotes on Roma refers to contexts related to crime. See Agresti, Giovanni. 2017. "For the recognition of the Romani minority", in Astori, Davide (ed.). *Esperanto and minority languages*. Milan: FEI - Italian Esperant Federation, p. 68.

<sup>76</sup> European Commission against Racism and Intolerance. Third report on Italy, adopted on 16 December 2005, published in Strasbourg on 16 May 2006 (see § 95).

<sup>77</sup> Frequently there are very dangerous forms of socio-cultural hyper-correctionism, according to which, for example, Roma children should not attend school and families should be welcomed in "nomad camps" just to support alleged cultural and ethnic traits of the Roma population.

<sup>78</sup> Pew Research Centre. *Faith in European Project Reviving*. June 2015.

<sup>79</sup> See the data proposed by National Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Integration Strategy (NRIS) <http://www.unar.it/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Strategia-Rom-e-Sinti.pdf>

migration of Romanian Roma to Western Europe conducted by Eva Rizzin, a researcher with Roma origins, as part of the Migrom project<sup>80</sup> in collaboration with the University of Verona revealed a constant “noise” towards these communities that reached its peak between 2007 and 2008, when Romania and Bulgaria entered the EU. Then, the Berlusconi government declared a state of emergency in relation to the “nomadic” communities, and even carried out censuses based on ethnicity. An emergency declared illegitimate by the State Council in 2011. In those years, the narrative permeated hatred by criticising not the perpetrators of crimes, but the entire Romani community. Even in the following years, the representation of the Roma and Sinti continued to be linked to demonising logics. They even went so far to compare them to animals with terms that instigate violence and hatred, bringing solutions proposed by representatives of institutions into the headlines and public administrations with obvious traces of incitement to racial hatred. For instance it is mentioned that, “For the Roma it would take the ovens” – Bufera on city councillor (*Corriere della Sera*, 31 October 2014), and in other case, “the father of the 14 year old who was raped by some Roma stated that “think about the law or I’ll do it” (*Il Giornale*, 5 November 2017).

In the meantime, the Roma’s voice is absent from the media. They are not considered to be a community with which the press has to deal directly, especially even with respect to events that directly affect them. This also causes the problem of journalistic source verification as they often limit themselves to copying an agency launch release without verifying the facts and without referring to the deontological rules of the profession. To get out of the logic of hatred, it is necessary to change the narrative and give way to a “normalisation” process which means to describe the Roma as people who already live included in society, but affected by strong racism that causes fear in the communities and therefore induces them to hide.

The use of ethnical elements that construct the figure of the Roma as negative is evidently linked to a lack of real data about Roma, the lack of objective investigative journalism and journalists’ bias. It is necessary to underline that the Order of Journalists has an important reference at national level to guarantee a non-ethnic treatment: the “Charter of Rome”<sup>81</sup> is a deontological protocol approved by the National Council of Journalists and the National Federation of the Italian Press which refers to the rules contained in the Journalist’s Duties Charter with particular regard to the fundamental duty to respect the person and his dignity and not to discriminate against anyone for race, religion, sex, physical and mental conditions and political opinions. The Charter of Rome requires every professional journalist to pay the utmost attention to the processing of information according to the following points:

- a) adopt legally appropriate terms always in order to give the reader and the user the maximum adherence to the reality of the facts, avoiding the use of improper terms;
- b) avoid the dissemination of inaccurate, summary or distorted information about minorities, asylum seekers, refugees, trafficking victims and migrants;
- c) protect minorities, asylum seekers, refugees, victims of trafficking and migrants who choose to talk to journalists, adopting those precautions regarding identity and image that do not allow the identification of the person, in order to avoid exposing them to retaliation against herself and her family members, both from authorities in the country of origin, and from non-state entities or criminal organisations;
- d) contact experts and organisations, whenever possible, in order to provide the public with information in a clear and complete context, which also looks at the causes of the phenomena.

<sup>80</sup> <http://profs.formazione.univr.it/creaa/migrom-project/>

<sup>81</sup> <https://www.cartadiroma.org/cosa-e-la-carta-di-roma/codice-deontologico/>

Despite its relevance and importance, this regulation is rarely followed, and Roma Communities are demonised by the media, as it has been happening in recent years in social media.

The Jo-Cox committee report<sup>82</sup> also highlights how the production of racist content has spread and diversified over the past decade. While traditional media still plays a vital role in spreading bias, blogs, Facebook groups and other social media have also started to contribute in a very blatant way to the diffusion of antigypsyist speeches. As underlined in RCM 1, antigypsyism has standardised, meaning that it has been widespread, becoming ever more pervasive and omnipresent. Several studies<sup>83</sup> note that with Web 2.0 there is a polycentric proliferation of racism in general and antigypsyism in particular. In relation to that, hate speech has become more pervasive compared to social acceptance. Although there is no shortage of striking episodes of violence, the characteristic feature is the process of its normalisation which serves the great number of hate producers on the Web. Today, the protagonists of hate speech and prejudice-based speeches are in fact diversified and widespread. , Alongside the mainstream media, the websites of individual territories, the self-produced blogs of information and counter-information, the groups and the private pages of individual users on social networks and in instant messaging applications spread hate speech. Some of these forms can flow into the online hate speech, understood by the Council of Europe as “inclusive of all forms of expression aimed at spreading, fomenting, promoting or justifying racial hatred, xenophobia, antisemitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including intolerance expressed in the form of aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility towards minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin”.<sup>84</sup>

As the recent Digital Civic Education Curriculum (MIUR, 2018) notes, the emergence of the social web questions information education, with the awareness that training critical thinking is no longer enough. Being able to read messages critically is no longer sufficient as it represents only the half of the work. It is no longer enough to educate the viewer, but also the producer who each viewer has become thanks to the smartphones. This means that, together with critical thinking, it is also necessary to develop responsibility, understood as an assessment of the consequences of one’s actions, of those who (all users of Web 2.0) produce information.

### Policy answer to the problem

There are no government programmes aimed at promoting positive discrimination for the RSC populations, in order to increase their presence in the public administration, in the Police, or in prosecutors’ offices and courts. These policies are rarely applied in Italy, and particularly are negated in the case of RSC population. Also, regarding the funds, there are no structural plans or specific funding for promoting counter-narratives on RSC population, so NGOs can only have access to the European Funds allocated for the fight against antigypsyism, such as the European Commission’s Rights Equality and Citizenship (REC Programme) 2014-2020.<sup>85</sup> In November 2016, UNAR published the Notice for the promotion of positive actions<sup>86</sup> with one of the areas dedicated to the RSC population

<sup>82</sup> Jo-Cox Commission, *final relation 2017*, p. 90, <http://website-pace.net/documents/19879/3373777/20170825-JoCoxCommission-IT.pdf>

<sup>83</sup> Stefano Pasta, “Racisms 2.0. Socio-educational analysis of online hatred”, Brescia, Morcelliana-Schol , 2018.

<sup>84</sup> Council of Europe, Committee of Ministers, Recommendation n. (97) 20.

<sup>85</sup> REC programme and calls available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/opportunities/topic-search;freeTextSearchKeyword=&typeCodes=0,1;statusCodes=31094501,31094502,31094503;programCode=REC;programDivisionCode=null;focusAreaCode=null;crossCuttingPriorityCode=null;callCode=Default;sortQuery=openingDate;orderBy=asc;onlyTenders=false;topicListKey=topicSearchTablePageState>

<sup>86</sup> Abbreviation APAD.

(budget of 200,000 EUR). Four proposals have been approved for RSC populations, but up to date, the funds have not been transferred to the NGOs yet.

On the other hand, it has never been questioned whether political parties and media that become protagonists of incitement of antigypsyism can benefit from public funds, even in the event of convictions.

Triantafillos Loukarelis, director of UNAR, has recently underlined the need to launch and implement actions and projects aimed at disseminating positive narratives on Roma and Sinti *"We need to promote counter-narratives, in order to show that these communities have a very rich history and tradition, have contributed positively to social organisations and art, and have a historical memory, that has seen them prosecuted during second world war."* However, in his declaration he has underlined the difficulty of UNAR itself to promote them, as theirs *"is a technical office without a political impulse we can't do much."*

This is why, this report underlines the importance of spotting counter-narratives as a key element to fight the spread of antigypsyism by intervening on different levels and with various actors, including media and social media. It is possible to report some specific legislative references. In the national legislation of Italy, the first reference to the fight against hate speech is the law n. 654 of 1957, with which the country ratified the New York Convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination; art. 3 punishes those who propagate ideas based on superiority or racial hatred with reclusive penalties, or instigates to commit or commit acts of violence or provocation to violence, towards people because they belong to a national, ethnic or racial group. More recently, law no. 115 of 2016 added a new paragraph to art. 3 of the law n. 654/1957, which inflicts imprisonment from two to six years in cases where propaganda, instigation and incitement are based "in whole or in part on the negation of the Shoah or genocide crimes, crimes against humanity and war crimes as defined by the Statute of the International Criminal Court". For the specific area of the media, Italy indicates the application of the „Code of Conduct to combat online hate speech”<sup>87</sup> approved in May 2016 by the European Commission. The observatory action on the hate speech of UNAR<sup>88</sup> has a fundamental role (also with reference to recommendation n. 15 on combating hate speech by ECRI – 8 December 2015) but most of the actions have to do with the respect to professional ethics rules by journalists who work in the media.

<sup>87</sup> [https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combating-discrimination/racism-and-xenophobia/eu-code-conduct-counteracting-illegal-hate-speech-online\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combating-discrimination/racism-and-xenophobia/eu-code-conduct-counteracting-illegal-hate-speech-online_en)

<sup>88</sup> <http://www.unar.it/dati-unar-due-casi-discriminazione-3-razzismo-circa-2-100-000-potenziali-contenuti-discriminatori-anno-web-rilevati-dallosservatorio/>

# CASE STUDY: COMMUNITIES AND MASS MEDIA. THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE SINTI OF PRATO IN THE COMMUNICATION

## Context

The Sinti community of the city of Prato (a big town in Tuscany with almost 200,000 inhabitants and at least 100 different "ethnic communities")<sup>89</sup> is made up of about 300 people of Italian citizenship who have been present in the city for at least seventy years. The community lives in four authorised municipal camps that were built in the 1980s and 1990s. Until the early 2000s, the Sinti of Prato did not have much contact with the rest of the city community. Their relationships with the outside were limited to the work context. The citizens of Prato considered the nomad camps as dangerous places to avoid and had an image of the Sinti as "nomadic gypsies". Local newspaper articles described the community in a stereotypical way and the Sinti were considered as foreigners. The Sinti community lived separate from the rest of the population even though the younger generations attended primary schools. The perception of the majority of the inhabitants of Prato was that of a community that did not want to have relations with the Sinti community, and with which it could be dangerous to have contacts.

## Recovery of historical memory as a first opportunity for socialisation

The first opportunities for cultural socialisation between the Sinti community and the majority population occurred after 2002, on the occasion of the first city initiatives on the subject of the memory celebration of the twentieth century and with the establishment of the Day of Memory for the victims of Holocaust. From that date, the Tuscany Region organises a Train of Memory to visit Auschwitz together with a thousand of students and the city of Prato has built a project for the historical formation that deals with the extermination of Roma and Sinti together with the Shoah. The Sinti community of Prato has been involved in the project and it is thanks to that occasion that the Sinti have built relationships for the knowledge of their own history and their culture in particular with the schools through municipal, regional and European projects. These occasions have allowed the first relationships with local journalists and the media to tell about a Sinti community without stereotypical images. In 2009, some Sinti of Prato formed the "Sinti Italiani of Prato" Association and it built relationships with journalists of the Order of Journalists of Tuscany by participating in training sessions reserved for journalists during which the Sinti asked for telling about themselves without being generalised and associated with and always negative images. In 2014, the Sinti community of Prato chose to participate in municipal elections with a Sinti woman candidate from their community and the news was very interesting for the media.<sup>90</sup>

From that moment, the community did not take a public position only on issues concerning Roma and Sinti, but also on topics of a different nature with reference to the social and cultural context.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>89</sup> <http://statistica.comune.prato.it/?act=f&fid=2708>.

<sup>90</sup> <https://iltirreno.gelocal.it/prato/cronaca/2014/04/14/news/sel-da-voce-alle-comunita-sinti-e-cinese-con-bosco-e-wong-1.9045417>

<sup>91</sup> An example is the position expressed on the reception of war refugees in the city <https://www.tvprato.it/2015/09/la-comunita-sinti-di-prato-pronta-ad-accogliere-i-profughi/>

## Culture and not just social problem

Since 2015, the Sinti Association of Prato has focused its attention on building a media story that was not only related to Roma and Sinti. The main objective was to present the community as a group of people with lifestyles and traditions linked to the majority community but also with some specific interesting and unknown characteristics, for example, the community told a journalist about their traditional cuisine.<sup>92</sup> The community has also continued to spread the importance of historical memory both as a construction within the community (they have recovered the testimonies of those who suffered deportation during Nazism and fascism)<sup>93</sup> and as an instrument of contact with schools through the knowledge of extermination during Nazism.<sup>94</sup> The meeting with the community of Prato has also become part of the national project for school inclusion.<sup>95</sup>

Artistic skills have been another story telling tool in the media. The Prato Association is also composed of young people with great talent. Two young Sinti from Prato have declared their belonging to the community of Prato on the media and they have made of it, one of the strengths of their work. Noell Maggini is a young designer who lives in the nomad camp of Prato and who exhibits at an important fashion show in Florence;<sup>96</sup> Denny Lanza is a young and successful director and choreographer, he lives in Prato and he tells his own community through a musical.<sup>97</sup> It was not just about telling young Sinti boys with great artistic qualities, but also about them choosing to declare their belonging to the community of Prato by telling their "normality" in a short video for a campaign entitled "let's look beyond antigypsyism" that has become widespread in Tuscany through schools and produced by director Denny Lanza<sup>98</sup>. It was an important national project financed by UNAR and by the Ministry of Public Education (MIUR) which involved more than three thousand Italian students starting from the Copernico High School in Prato which coordinated the project together with the association of Sinti of Prato.<sup>99</sup>

## Media narrative as a defence context

It is from these premises that in the last two years the Sinti community of Prato has managed to transform its relationship with the media and social media by learning how to protect themselves and communicate in a more efficient way – a tool of defence and direct expression. The courses with journalists, organised since 2010, to raise awareness of the community have allowed to build relationships with them so the community can express itself directly.<sup>100</sup> In 2019, during a visit carried out by a parliamentarian on the occasion of his electoral campaign against the Roma, the Prato community responded by using the media to construct its own counterstatement and to present its opinions.<sup>101</sup> The association

<sup>92</sup> <https://www.vice.com/it/article/437589/cucina-rom-tedesca>

<sup>93</sup> <https://2017.gonews.it/2015/02/04/memoria-al-museo-della-deportazione-si-ricorda-mezzo-milione-di-rom-e-sinti-divorati-nei-lager-nazisti/>

<sup>94</sup> [http://www.toscananovecento.it/custom\\_type/spiegare-il-porrajmos-a-scuola/](http://www.toscananovecento.it/custom_type/spiegare-il-porrajmos-a-scuola/)

<sup>95</sup> <https://www.istitutodeglinnocenti.it/content/progetto-nazionale-linclusione-e-lintegrazione-dei-bambini-rom-sinti-e-caminanti-il>

<sup>96</sup> <https://www.confsoft.it/noell-il-sinti-che-disegna-per-pitti-negli-abiti-i-colori-del-mio-popolo/>

<sup>97</sup> <https://iltirreno.gelocal.it/prato/cronaca/2019/06/24/news/nel-nuovo-musical-di-denny-landa-il-racconto-di-una-storia-gitana-1.35468284>

<sup>98</sup> <https://youtu.be/aZuVUnMyrLg>

<sup>99</sup> <https://youtu.be/0H9gtP3o5z8>

<sup>100</sup> <https://www.tvprato.it/2019/03/sopralluogo-del-deputato-donzelli-fdi-al-campo-nomadi-di-san-giorgio-queste-aree-vanno-superate-video/>

<sup>101</sup> <https://www.controradio.it/podcast/blitz-a-campo-nomadi-da-donzelli-solo-una-piazzata-elettorale/>

---

of Sinti of Prato denounced the parliament for defamation.<sup>102</sup> The acquired knowledge of deontological regulations for professional journalists has also allowed the Sinti community of Prato to report to the Order of Journalists of Tuscany the articles that spread ethnic hatred and stereotypes. One of these articles was the one that appeared online on 19 March 2019 on "*Il sito di Firenze*" which was reported and which involved the intervention by the disciplinary board of the Order of Journalists.<sup>103</sup> The experience of the Sinti of Prato shows that the media can also be used as an instrument of positive knowledge, of denunciation and of protection.

<sup>102</sup> <https://www.controradio.it/prato-sinti-denunciano-per-diffamazione-lon-donzelli-dopo-blitz/>.

<sup>103</sup> <https://www.ilsitodifirenze.it/content/704-campo-rom-abusivo-firenze-sud-al-la-cavalleria-rusticana-tra-pierguidi-e-bussolin>.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### “Theory of nomadism” in regional laws and national legislative vacuum

1. To adopt a national framework and individual regional laws consistent with it. In particular, it is necessary to:
  - a) acknowledge RSC communities as a national minority; since years it is a request made by many Roma associations and activists;
  - b) overcome and abolish all the Regional Laws that made RSC culture coincide with nomadism and that led to the institutionalisation of nomad camps to house RSC;
  - c) develop and implement national regulations in order to define the processes of coordination between different institutional levels (national, regional and local), and set the duties of the regions;
  - d) the mandate of UNAR must be strengthened, by promoting its independence, as recommended by ECRI, and by providing it with specific resources, in order to support its financial autonomy, along with its ability to impose sanctions against those national, regional or local agencies that fail to comply with the NRIS. The lack of this power is one of UNAR’s greatest weaknesses, and one of the principal causes of the actual disorganised and heterogeneous Italian scenario, even if the NRIS outlined a clear framework 8 years ago;
  - e) As foreseen by the NRIS, all regions must immediately establish and make the local consultative meetings. It is very serious that, after 8 years from the approval of the Strategy, only 11 have started this process, only 1 region (Emilia Romagna) has a new regional law, only 1 region (Tuscany) and 1 Autonomous Province (Trento) have circumvented the previous law. It is paradoxical that in Region, such as Lombardy, where the Nomads State of Emergency was proclaimed in 2008, a consultative meeting was not even held in 2012-2020;
  - f) Regional strategies must be approved in all regions, consistent with the NRIS national framework;
  - g) The Piedmont [Regional Law 61/2019](#) “*Rules on the regulation of nomadism and the fight against abusiveness*” must be immediately abolished because in opposition to the NRIS.

### Lack of reliable data on RSC

In the Italian context, the lack of reliable data still impacts negatively on the development of effective policies, as well as on the good use of the resources available. Without reliable statistical data, it is difficult to establish the objectives of the interventions to develop, to determine the tools capable of pursuing them, and to assess the impact of the public interventions implemented.

2. Therefore, it would be appropriate to pursue the possibility to collect ethnic data during the census. The collection of data should follow these criteria:
  - a) be collected for all minorities, according to the principle of self-definition of individuals, that can be made exclusively on a voluntary basis;
  - b) be collected respecting the privacy of individuals;

- c) be used only at an aggregated level, and with the aim of combating inequalities and to support positive actions to combat discriminations on the ground of ethnic origin.
3. Ad hoc surveys on the social conditions of the Roma and Sinti population who live in the camps should be promoted, as they could provide reliable data on the portion of Roma population that suffers the most from the condition of housing exclusion, spotting the needs that must be addressed, and providing clearer directives to the policies to implement.
4. Alternative ways to collect data on the social inclusion of Roma in the different local contexts should be encouraged too, changing the focus of attention of the survey from "Roma" to the "Territories". Ad hoc surveys on how the different territories (regions and/or municipalities) are equipped to facilitate the processes of social inclusion and participation of RSC should be run, in order to gather data related to the four axes of the National strategy (education, employment, housing and health). The information collected according to this methodology could provide data on the inclusion potential of the different territories, spotting a set of objective factors capable of influencing, in positive or negative terms, the development of the processes of inclusion and participation of the Roma and Sinti within each territorial context (see Annex 2).
5. The design of possible surveys who collect ethnic variables should establish a special consultation mechanism with representatives of minorities. Owing to the sensitive nature of questions on ethnicity, special care is required to demonstrate to the respondents that appropriate data protection and disclosure control measures are put in place. It is in fact important that the responding public is informed of the potential uses and needs of the data concerning ethnicity, as this improves public support for the survey.

### Need for counter-narratives on RSC communities

6. To implement structured programmes of counter-narratives, counter speech and alternative speech on RSC, providing a relevant contribution in the fight against antigypsyism, by intervening on different levels and actors:
  - a) The media: by launching programmes and actions to promote knowledge on RSC communities<sup>104</sup> and promoting measures to monitor the effective implementation of the Charter of Rome, an Italian ethic code of conduct for journalists;
  - b) The social media: by attracting the interest of the platforms' managers and supervisors on this issue so that they can be ready to remove the contents and the comments of hatred against Roma promptly, as some European directions underline; implementing law n°205/1993 on the racial aggravating factor also to online hate speech; promoting long term and short-term actions of counter narrative, such as counter speech and alternative speech, as underlined by the Council of Europe and the No Hate Movement;
  - c) Schools: by promoting programmes aimed at tackling antigypsyism, that could be developed within the civic education school hours of different grades, that are foreseen by law 92/2019.
7. Specific funding should be allocated for counter-narratives programmes as there are no governmental programmes aimed at promoting positive discrimination for the RSC populations. Funding counter-narratives programmes is a key element to

<sup>104</sup> We include in the case study below a good practice promoted in Region Tuscany with journalists.

promote long and short-term actions, as the lack of data, together with the spread of antigypsyism keep on influencing not only the social representation of Roma, but also the development of policies, activating a circle that impacts negatively on the implementation of any strategy.

## ANNEX 1: RSC INCLUSION INDICATORS

Set of indicators to measure the degree of social inclusion and participation of the Roma and Sinti minority. It is possible to construct these indicators by providing aggregated data on the basis of ethnicity or in the case of data collected through surveys relating to Roma and Sinti who live in camps:

	<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Measurement method</i>
<b>Education</b>	Pre-school education rate	Gap in the rate of participation in pre-school education between the Roma population and the total population
	Elementary school leaving rate	Gap in the rate of achievement of the elementary license between the Roma population and the total population
	Average License Achievement Rate	Gap in the rate of attainment of the average license between the Roma population and the total population.
	School compulsory discharge rate	Gap in the rate of fulfilment of compulsory education between the Roma population and the total population
	Rate of university and postgraduate education	Gap in the completion rate of the university / post-graduate education cycle between the Roma population and the total population
	<b>Employment</b>	Specific occupancy rate
Unemployment rate		Gap in the unemployment rate between the Roma population and the total population.
Long-term unemployment rate		Gap in the long-term unemployment rate between the Roma population and the total population.
Badger rate of young NEET (Not in Education, Employment or Training)		Gap in the NEET youth rate between the Roma population and the total population
<b>Housing</b>	Rate of Subjects in the house without water	Gap in the rate of subjects living in houses not connected to drinking water between the Roma population and the total population
	Rate of Holders of a home ownership document	Gap in the rate of holders of a home ownership document between the Roma population and the total population
	Crowding rate	Gap in the crowding rate between the Roma population and the total population
<b>Health</b>	Rate of access rate to the national health system	Gap in the rate of enrolment in the national health system between the Roma population and the total population.
	Infant mortality rate	Gap in the infant mortality rate between the Roma population and the total population.

	Life expectancy	Life expectancy gap at birth between the Roma population and the total population.
<b>Cross-cutting indicators</b>	Subject to risk of poverty rate	Gap in the rate of subjects at risk of poverty between the Roma population and the total population
	Absolute poverty rate	Gap in the absolute poverty rate between the Roma population and the total population.
	Relative poverty rate	Gap in the relative poverty rate between the Roma population and the total population.

## ANNEX 2: TERRITORIAL INTEGRATION POTENTIAL INDICATORS

		<b>Indicator</b>
<b>Axis 1. Education</b>	<b>Specific objective 1.1</b>	number of schools that have set up specific programmes or projects to encourage school attendance specifically (although not exclusively) for Roma children
		number of schools that have set up specific programmes or projects to combat early school leaving specifically (though not exclusively) for Roma children
	<b>Specific objective 1.2</b>	number of universities that have prepared programmes or projects that favour enrolment and attendance at university study courses intended specifically (even if not exclusively) for Roma.
	<b>Specific objective 1.3</b>	number of schools that have prepared specific projects aimed at the comparison and cooperation between educational institutions, extra-curricular territory, families and Roma communities
<b>Axis 2. Employment</b>	<b>Specific objective 2.1</b>	number of professional training courses aimed at entering the job market or creating businesses, specifically (though not exclusively) for Roma.
		number of training placements / training grants activated specifically (though not exclusively) for Roma.
	<b>Specific objective 2.2</b>	number of interventions aimed at emerging from irregular forms of work intended specifically (even if not exclusively) for Roma;
		number of interventions aimed at supporting entrepreneurial and self-employment development aimed specifically (even if not exclusively) at Roma;
	<b>Specific objective 2.3</b>	number of interventions aimed at supporting, even if not exclusively, the work of Roma women;
		number of interventions aimed specifically at supporting, even if not exclusively, the access of Roma under 35 years to the system of opportunities and facilities provided for youth entrepreneurship and youth employment in general;
<b>Axis 3. Health</b>	<b>Specific objective 3.1</b>	number of public bodies that are represented in Ig or not to initiate an intercultural mediation service specifically although not exclusively refer to Rom;
		number of public bodies that have activated projects aimed specifically even if not exclusively at Roma.
	<b>Specific objective 3.2</b>	number of ASLs that have foreseen interventions or projects referring to the area of reproductive and maternal and child health aimed specifically even if not exclusively at Roma
	<b>Specific objective 3.3</b>	number of ASL which is represented also not to initiate an intercultural mediation service specifically although not exclusively addressed Rom
<b>Axis 4. Housing</b>	<b>Specific objective 4.1</b>	number of interventions put in place by Public Bodies to provide for the closure of institutional camps and simultaneously facilitate access to alternative housing forms
		number municipalities and have earmarked funding for the creation of new temporary camps or for the expansion of existing temporary camps

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agresti, Giovanni. „Per il riconoscimento della minoranza romani”. In *Esperanto e lingue minoritarie*, edited by Giovanni Agresti, 61-74. Milano: FEI – Federazione Esperantista Italiana, 2017.

Anci, Unar, and Istat. *Fonti di dati sulla popolazione Rom, Sinti e Caminanti. Un'indagine pilota in quattro comuni italiani*. Roma, 2017.

Associazione 21 luglio. *Questione rom. Dal silenzio dello Stato alle risposte di Regioni e Province*. Roma, 2013.

Bravi, Luca, and Sigona, Nando. *Educazione e rieducazione nei campi per nomadi. Una storia*. *Studi Emigrazione*, XLIII (164) (2008): 857-874. Available at: [http://www.romsintimemory.it/assets/files/storia\\_memoria/memoria-negata/ALLEGATO%2014%20SigonaBravi,%20ABSTRACT%20EN.pdf](http://www.romsintimemory.it/assets/files/storia_memoria/memoria-negata/ALLEGATO%2014%20SigonaBravi,%20ABSTRACT%20EN.pdf).

Bonetti, Paolo. „I nodi giuridici della condizione di Rom e Sinti in Italia”. In *La condizione giuridica di Rom e Sinti in Italia*, edited by Paolo Bonetti, Alessandro Simoni, and Tommaso Vitale, 15-124. Milano: Giuffrè, 2011.

Bonetti, Paolo, Simoni, Alessandro, and Vitale, Tommaso. „Norme per la tutela e le pari opportunità della minoranza dei Rom e dei Sinti”. In *La condizione giuridica di Rom e Sinti in Italia*, edited by Paolo Bonetti, Alessandro Simoni, and Tommaso Vitale, 1281-1362. Milano: Giuffrè, 2011.

Casa della Carità, Consorzio Nova, Fondazione Romanì, Associazione 21 Luglio, Arci Solidarietà Onlus, and Associazione Rom Sinti Prato. *Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the national Roma integration strategy in Italy. Focusing on structural and horizontal preconditions for successful implementation of the strategy*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018. Available at: <https://cps.ceu.edu/sites/cps.ceu.edu/files/attachment/basicpage/3034/rcm-civil-society-monitoring-report-1-italy-2017-eprint-fin-2.pdf>.

Casa della Carità, Consorzio Nova, Fondazione Romanì, Associazione 21 Luglio, Arci Solidarietà Onlus, and Associazione Rom Sinti Prato. *Civil society monitoring report on implementation of the national Roma integration strategy in Italy. Assessing the progress in four key policy areas of the strategy*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2019. Available at: <https://cps.ceu.edu/sites/cps.ceu.edu/files/attachment/basicpage/3034/rcm-civil-society-monitoring-report-2-italy-2018-eprint-fin-2.pdf>.

Center for Research on Intercultural Relations at the Sacred Heart Catholic University, and USC Shoah Foundation – The Institute for Visual History and Education. *Giving Memory a Future. The Sinti and Roma in Italy and around the World*, <http://sfi.usc.edu/education/roma-sinti/en/>.

Commissione Straordinaria per la tutela e la promozione dei Diritti Umani, *Rapporto conclusivo dell'indagine sulla condizione di rom, sinti e caminanti in Italia*. Roma: Senato della Repubblica, 2011.

Commissione Jo Cox sull'intolleranza, la xenofobia, il razzismo e i fenomeni d'odio. *Relazione finale*. Roma: Camera dei deputati, 2017. Available at: <http://website-pace.net/documents/19879/3373777/20170825-JoCoxCommission-IT.pdf>.

Daniele, Ulderico, Pasta, Stefano, and Persico, Greta. „From Public Enemy to Urban Ghost. Roma Migrants and the Dismantling of the Nomad Camp Systems in Milan and Rome”. *Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics*, vol. 4 no 3 (2018): 106-135.

ERRC (European Roma Rights Centre). *Campland: Racial Segregation of Roma in Italy. Country Report Series, Nr. 9*. Budapest, 2000. Available at: <http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/media/00/0F/m0000000F.pdf>

Furlan, Federico. „Rom e Sinti nelle legislazioni regionali“. In *La condizione giuridica di Rom e Sinti in Italia*, edited by Paolo Bonetti, Alessandro Simoni, and Tommaso Vitale, 703-737. Milano: Giuffrè, 2011.

Longo, Erik. *Regione e diritti: la tutela dei diritti nelle leggi e negli Statuti regionali*. Macerata: Eum, 2007.

Mancini, Letizia. „Il debole riconoscimento giuridico di una minoranza: il caso zingari“. *Diritto, immigrazione e cittadinanza*, 3 (2001): 65-72.

Ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR). *Curriculum di Educazione Civica Digitale*. Roma, 2018.

OSI (Open Society Institute). *No Data—No Progress Data Collection in Countries Participating in the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005–2015*. New York, 2010. Available at: <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/uploads/165c9e47-6056-4abf-97fb-4fa2d67f695c/no-data-no-progress-20100628.pdf>.

Palermo, Francesco. „Rom e Sinti come minoranze. Profili di diritto pubblico italiano e comparato di diritto internazionale“. In *La condizione giuridica di Rom e Sinti in Italia*, edited by Paolo Bonetti, Alessandro Simoni, and Tommaso Vitale, 15-124. Milano: Giuffrè, 2011.

Pasta, Stefano, *Razzismi 2.0. Analisi socio-educativa dell'odio online*. Brescia: Scholé-Morcelliana, 2018. Available at:

Pasta, Stefano. „The media and the public perception of the Roma and the Sinti in Italy“. *Trauma and Memory*, vol. 7, 3 (2019): 46-52. Available at: <https://www.eupsycho.com/index.php/TM/article/viewFile/233/170>.

Pew Research Center. *Faith in European Project Reviving*. June 2015. Available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2015/06/02/faith-in-european-project-reviving/>.

Piasere, Leonardo. *Comunità girovaghe, comunità zingare*. Napoli: Liguori, 1995.

Rosini, Monica. „La tutela delle minoranze linguistiche nella seconda stagione statutaria“. In *I principi negli statuti regionali*, edited by Elisabetta Catelani and Enzo Cheli. Bologna: il Mulino, 2008.

Ufficio Nazionale Antidiscriminazione Razziale (UNAR) (National Office on Anti-Racial Discriminations). *National Strategy for the Inclusion of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Communities. European Commission Communication N. 173/2011*. Roma: UNAR, 2012. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/italy\\_national\\_strategy\\_roma\\_inclusion\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/italy_national_strategy_roma_inclusion_en.pdf).

## GETTING IN TOUCH WITH THE EU

### **In person**

All over the European Union there are hundreds of Europe Direct information centres. You can find the address of the centre nearest you at: [https://europa.eu/european-union/contact\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/contact_en)

### **On the phone or by email**

Europe Direct is a service that answers your questions about the European Union. You can contact this service:

- by freephone: 00 800 6 7 8 9 10 11 (certain operators may charge for these calls),
- at the following standard number: +32 22999696, or
- by email via: [https://europa.eu/european-union/contact\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/contact_en)

## FINDING INFORMATION ABOUT THE EU

### **Online**

Information about the European Union in all the official languages of the EU is available on the Europa website at: [https://europa.eu/european-union/index\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/index_en)

### **EU publications**

You can download or order free and priced EU publications from: <https://publications.europa.eu/en/publications>

Multiple copies of free publications may be obtained by contacting Europe Direct or your local information centre (see [https://europa.eu/european-union/contact\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/contact_en)).

### **EU law and related documents**

For access to legal information from the EU, including all EU law since 1952 in all the official language versions, go to EUR-Lex at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu>

### **Open data from the EU**

The EU Open Data Portal (<http://data.europa.eu/euodp/en>) provides access to datasets from the EU. Data can be downloaded and reused for free, for both commercial and non-commercial purposes.

